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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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ROUSSEAU'S PESSIMIST

In the ninth note to the *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, Rousseau refers to "un auteur célèbre, [qui], calculant les biens et les maux de la vie humaine, et comparant les deux sommes, a trouvé que la dernière surpassait l'autre de beaucoup, et qu'à tout prendre, la vie était pour l'homme un assez mauvais présent." Rousseau's editors and commentators seem to have failed to identify this anonymous pessimist; even Mr. Vaughan in his admirable edition of the *Political Writings* is "unable to suggest the name of the author referred to." There can, I think, be little doubt that Rousseau's reference is to Maupertuis, at that time, by invitation of Frederick the Great, the President of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin, and commonly regarded by his contemporaries (not including Voltaire¹) as one of the foremost French men of science of his age. The thesis mentioned by Rousseau is that which stands at the head of the second chapter of Maupertuis's *Essay* (sic) *de Philosophie Morale*, 1747: "Que dans la vie ordinaire la somme des maux surpasse celle des biens."

¹ It is to be feared that, in so far as Maupertuis is known at all to students of French literature, it is through his famous quarrel with Voltaire and the latter's satire upon him in the *Histoire du Docteur Akakia*, 1753—which, it is doubtless superfluous to say, is not a trustworthy source of information about Maupertuis. His general reputation in his own time is better indicated by the lines addressed to him by Voltaire before the quarrel, in the first edition of the *Discours sur l'homme* (4^e *Discours*):

Apôtre de Newton, digne appui d'un tel maître,
Né pour la vérité, viens la faire connaître . . .

The lines are omitted, and the entire tone of the passage referring to Maupertuis is altered, in the subsequent editions.

The argument offered in support of this thesis is not without interest for its analogies with certain ideas in later writers. Maupertuis may be said to beg the question rather completely by the definition of "pleasure" with which he begins; for he makes it essential to the conception of anything entitled to be called a pleasure that it shall fulfil the requirement of Goethe's *Faust* in his wager with Mephistopheles: man is happy only when he can

*zum Augenblicke sagen:
Verweile doch! du bist so schön!*

"Le plaisir," says Maupertuis, is "toute perception que l'âme aime mieux éprouver que ne pas éprouver; toute perception, dans laquelle elle voudrait se fixer; pendant laquelle elle ne souhaite, ni le passage à une autre perception, ni le sommeil" . . . "Le temps que dure cette perception est ce que j'appelle *Moment heureux*." Goethe's hero, then, merely demands of the Devil a single *moment heureux*, as that had been defined by Maupertuis. The earlier passage in *Faust* about "die Pein des engen Erlebens" is also much in the vein of the French pessimist. The general moral of Goethe's drama, in short, has a close logical if not a direct historical relation to Maupertuis's reasoning. Goethe's hero too discovers that happiness, in Maupertuis's sense, is not attainable by man; but precisely in this fact he finds man's "salvation."

Given his definition of pleasure, Maupertuis develops the argument in a way which partially anticipates that of Schopenhauer.² Since any moment of desire is a moment which one does not wish to remain unchanged, and since life consists chiefly of moments of unfulfilled desire, it follows that, at best, there is very little "pleasure" in life.

Combien rares sont les perceptions, dont l'âme aime la présence? La vie est-elle autre chose qu'un souhait continu de changer de perception? Elle se passe dans les désirs; et tout l'intervalle qui en sépare l'accomplissement, nous le voudrions anéanti. . . . Si Dieu accomplissait nos désirs; qu'il supprimât pour nous tout le temps que nous voudrions supprimé: le vieillard serait surpris de

² Though Schopenhauer frequently refers to Maupertuis, it is in connection with his "anticipation of Kant" in the doctrine of the subjectivity of space; and he apparently became acquainted with Maupertuis's writings only in 1852 (cf. *Schopenhauer's Briefe*, Grisebach ed., pp. 116, 123). The French pessimist, therefore, does not seem to have had a part in forming the philosophy of his German successor.

voir le peu qu'il aurait vécu. Peut-être toute la durée de la plus longue vie serait réduite à quelques heures.³

Maupertuis also argues that men's constant quest of diversions as "un étourdissement à leurs ennuis," and the use by all races of intoxicants and sedatives, show that all mankind is forever seeking "remèdes au mal de vivre." Finally he propounds the test-question of which Schopenhauer and Hartmann were afterwards to make so much:

Qu'on interroge [les hommes]; on en trouvera bien peu, dans quelque condition qu'on les prenne, qui voulussent recommencer leur vie telle qu'elle a été, qui voulussent repasser par tous les mêmes états dans lesquels ils se sont trouvés. N'est-ce pas l'aveu le plus clair qu'ils ont eu plus de maux que de biens?⁴

The moral philosophy which Maupertuis bases upon these pessimistic premises is, naturally, of a somewhat ascetic or, more precisely, Stoic type. We can do little to "augment the sum of pleasures," but are not without power "to diminish the sum of evils. It is upon the latter calculation that the life of the wise man should be employed." The lives of the Stoic sages show to how considerable a degree it is actually possible for men, "by mastering their beliefs and desires, and annihilating the effect of all external objects," to become free from suffering, if not positively happy. Maupertuis is not, however, content with this merely Stoical consolation; and his essay ends with an argument for religious belief, of a type much more usual now than then—an argument similar to that of William James's *The Will to Believe*. No theoretic proof of Christianity, or of its assurances respecting the attainability of happiness in another world, says Maupertuis, is possible; the arguments both for and against this lack cogency. But—where logical proof is excluded—the fact that belief in a proposition is needful for our happiness should be regarded as evidence of its truth. Without hope of compensation hereafter this life would not be worth living; but we are entitled to believe whatever is necessary to make it worth living.

Il est un principe dans la nature, plus universel encore que ce qu'on appelle *la lumière naturelle*; plus uniforme encore pour tous

³ *Oeuvres de Mr. de Maupertuis*, Dresden, 1752, pp. 381-2. I have modernized the spelling and capitalization.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 382.

les hommes; aussi présent au plus stupide qu'au plus subtil; c'est le désir d'être heureux. Sera-ce un paradoxe de dire que . . . c'est par ce principe que nous devons reconnaître les vérités qu'il faut croire? . . . Dans cette égalité de ténèbres, dans cette nuit profonde, si je rencontre le système qui est le seul qui puisse remplir le désir que j'ai d'être heureux, ne dois-je pas à cela le reconnaître pour le véritable?⁵

Here is a fairly plain expression, in the middle of the eighteenth century, of one of the numerous varieties of "pragmatism."

Though my purpose in this note has been merely to identify the writing to which Rousseau referred and to summarize its contents, it should be mentioned in conclusion—since few seem to know even the most essential facts about this "auteur célèbre"—that in two other respects Maupertuis has a place of importance in the history of ideas. (1) He was—however incongruously—one of the founders of utilitarianism in France, and indirectly in England. In the first chapter of the essay already mentioned he attempts to formulate a sort of hedonic calculus, which anticipates that of Bentham; and in his *Éloge de Montesquieu* he lays down *le principe du plus grand bonheur*, in opposition to all abstract theories of natural rights, as the basis of political and social philosophy. "The problem of the legislator is simply this: A multitude of men being collected together, to procure for them the greatest sum of happiness possible." It was from Maupertuis, next to Helvétius and Beccaria, that the doctrine of Bentham was derived⁶—though the pessimism of the *Essay de Philosophie Morale* was, of course, repugnant to Bentham. (2) The doctrine of organic evolution was definitely propounded and defended by Maupertuis as early as 1745, in his *Vénus Physique*, and in 1751 in his *Système de la Nature*, which was apparently the source of the evolutionary ideas in Diderot's *Pensées sur l'Interprétation de la Nature*, 1754. Of all modern men of science Maupertuis has perhaps the best claim to be called the first evolutionist. The evidence on this matter I have already presented elsewhere.⁷

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⁵ *Ibid.*, 404.

⁶ Cf. E. Halévy, *La Jeunesse de Bentham*, 1901, pp. 288-9.

⁷ "Some Eighteenth-Century Evolutionists"; *Popular Science Monthly*, 1904, pp. 345-351.

THE WORD "GOTHIC" IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CRITICISM

Critical terms, like other speculations, have their ups and downs. So it has been with the adjective "gothic." The term had its inception humbly enough as a Germanic race-name. But because the Goths, being Teutons, conceived and built upon an ideal of beauty foreign to the world they overset; and because mediaeval men, in fashioning their new world, rebuilt it nearer to the Teutonic than the classic heart's desire; and because to Renaissance sceptics the Gothic ideal, wrought in castle and cathedral, seemed dark and thwarted beside the measure of a Parthenon, it came to pass, in the early Renaissance, that the term "gothic" took on a new and colored meaning, a meaning that masked a sneer. To the Renaissance, mediaeval or Gothic architecture was barbarous architecture. By a trope all things barbarous became "Gothic."

With the emergence of the democratic-romantic side of the Renaissance, however, the change bent back upon itself. Men wearied of long vistas and conformity; they commenced to seek a nearer reality in clash and color, and to look not through but to mediaeval history for the roots of their own proximate past. Thus mediaeval things, and so gothic things, rose to favor again. As a result Gothic became once more an adjective, if not of praise, at least of respectability.

In English the real history of "Gothic"¹ begins with the eighteenth century. The word, of course, is to be found before. Chaucer employs the noun,² as does Shakespeare.³ Spenser uses the adjective.⁴ Nor are these uses isolated.⁵ The dark Renais-

¹ The word is protean even in its orthography. N. E. D. lists the spellings: Gotic, Gotiq, Gothicke, Gottic, Gothiq, Gothique, Gothic.

² Boethius I, Pr. iv. "Theodoric, the king of Gothes."

³ Usually in a disparaging sense. In *As You Like It*, for instance, III, iii: "As the most capricious poet, honest Ovid, was among the Goths. . . . O knowledge ill-inhabited. . . ." The noun is used some 27 times in *Titus Andronicus* in connection with the adjectives "warlike" (4), "barbarous," "traitorous," "lusty," "trusty," "lascivious," "giddy," "worthy."

⁴ *Ruins of Rome*, xi, 8. "Gothique cold"—i. e., the cold blood of the Gothic race.

⁵ The earliest use listed by N. E. D. in the modern spelling is from the

sance color haunts the word even in merry England.⁶ And with growth of the interest in black letter⁷ and mediaeval architecture,⁸ the word is again given a fillip toward popularity. But it is not until one strikes into the period of Anne and the Georges that he finds the expression used in literature with critical edge. In this period the word seems to have three meanings, all closely allied,—barbarous, mediaeval, supernatural. The rise, development, and exact relationship of these synonyms it is the purpose of this paper to determine.

The meaning first in both time and scope, is "barbarous."⁹

1611 preface to the King James Bible: "Ulphilas is reported to have translated the scriptures into the Gothicke tongue." Cotgrave lists the word "Gothique" in the same year. The earlier form of the adjective appears to have been "Gotish" or "Gottish." N. E. D. lists *Metam. Tobacco* (Collier), 46, "Gottish"; Camden, *Rem.*, 51, 1605, "Gotish" (of race); Brerewood *Lang. and Relig.*, vii, 59, 1612, "Gottish" (of language).

⁶ N. E. D. quotes Waterhouse *Fire Lond.*, 66, 1667, "Gottish cold" as a damning-term. The English usage in this sense is very early. In 1602 *Metam. Tobacco*, "Gottish Spaniards" equals "barbarous Spaniards." In 1611 Cotgrave glosses "Gothique" as "rude, cruell, barbarous." And Waterhouse in 1667 means barbarous or destructive when he speaks of "Gottish and Vandalique fire."

⁷ See Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, 1781: "this edition . . . is in Gothic letter." The usage appears very early. See N. E. D., Shelton *Quix.*, i, iv, xv, 1612-20: "with Gothical characters but containing Castilian verses." Evelyn's *Diary*, 1644, 18-21 March: "Some English words graven in Gothic characters."

⁸ I have attempted to follow the term "Gothic" only as a critical adjective in letters, ignoring its application as a racial, a linguistic, a typographical word. Its use in English from at least 1641 as a term in architecture I have not tried to chronicle, because it is there part of a different and highly specialized vocabulary which has for the most part little to do with literature. In architecture the term was used early, apparently, in a neutral, and even in a faintly eulogistic, sense: see, for example, Langley's *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved by A Great Variety of Useful Designs . . . in the Gothic Mode*, 1742, and his *Gothic Architecture Improved*, 1747. Sometimes this usage touches tangentially on the literary-critical usage, as in *The World*, No. 12, 1753: "A few years ago everything was Gothic; our houses, our beds, our book-cases, and our couches, were all copied from some parts or other of our old cathedrals. The Grecian architecture was totally neglected." In such employment, of course, architectural "Gothic" contributes to the background against which all Gothic, literary or otherwise, is to be appraised.

⁹ This point is so generally accepted that I shall not attempt to break

The French refer to the middle ages as "les siècles gothiques."¹⁰ And possibly the French usage helped motivate the modern English twist of the critical adjective into the sense of barbarous.¹¹ But chiefly the color is an inheritance from the Renaissance. Of this color there are in the eighteenth century many examples. Johnson, for instance, in 1775 defines a Goth in his Dictionary as "one not civilized, one deficient in general knowledge, a barbarian." In connection with criticism, Addison's usage is particularly interesting, as a direct application of both the noun and the adjective in a critical way to imagination and taste in literature.¹² The connotation "barbarous" extends well into the next century. In 1812 Shelley in a letter refers to the "gothic and superstitious ages."¹³ Even today the tenor of the word has vitality, and may be heard, rarely, among pundits.

One may say generally, then, that in English of the eighteenth century, the adjective "Gothic" is employed as a definite and recognized synonym for barbarous. Most often this usage is in connection with ignorance, cruelty, or savageness, qualities associated with the inherited Renaissance view of the middle ages. Sometimes, and with increasing frequency, it is used in connection with taste, and so becomes a critical adjective of disapprobation. Sometimes it is used to describe literary style.

down open doors by proving it again here. For many examples of the word in this meaning see N. E. D.

¹⁰ Cp. Boileau, *Art*: "Fredonner ses idylles gothiques."

¹¹ It is in an essay on French criticism that Dryden, making one of the earliest applications of the word in this critical bearing, strikes out the phrase, "a barbarous and Gothique manner." *A Parallel of Poetry and Painting*.

¹² In 1711 Addison in the *Spectator* remarks, "I look upon these writers as *Goths* in Poetry, who, like those in Architecture, not being able to come up to the beautiful simplicity of the old Greeks and *Romans*, have endeavoured to supply its Place with all the Extravagance of an irregular Fancy." No. 62. In 1712 again, he prays for banishment of the "Gothic taste" of false wit. No. 409. Such a use becomes quite common after Addison. In 1723, the preface to *A Collection of Old Ballads* equates "Gothick wit" with "false wit." Voltaire, in the *Temple of Taste* in 1731 refers to the tasteless hoi-polloi as the "Gothic horde." And the preface, dated 1763, to an anonymous *Numidian Tale* in the Widener Library at Harvard, contains the clause, "I am aware that this will be called Gothic taste."

¹³ *Prose Works*, 1888, I, 348. Note the lower case "g."

The second meaning of "Gothic" is mediaeval." As the eighteenth century broadened and deepened, "Gothic" ceased to have wholly a derisive implication. With the shifting of emphasis in literature from "decorum" to "imagination," there came a complementary shift in emphasis from classic and pseudo-classic to the mediaeval as a quarry for literary thought: and with this swing in point of view came a change in the overtones of "mediaeval" and all words associated with it. This drift shows specifically in the word "Gothic." Much of the drift was motivated by the architectural experiments of such persons as Batty Langley and Sanderson Miller. But to Richard Hurd, whose *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* mark one of the high reaches of eighteenth century romanticism, the about face appears primarily due, so far as literature is concerned.¹⁴

In his *Letters* Hurd's theme is the contrast between classic and mediaeval literary method. In this contrast, he takes sides with the gothicists. It is natural, therefore, that in his hands the term "Gothic" should cease to be a word of obloquy, and become something else. As a matter of fact it becomes tantamount to mediaeval, that is only a neutral critical turn, and not, as one might expect from Hurd's premises, a term of approbation. Ordinarily Hurd uses the adjective as a simple foil to "classic," "heroic," or "Grecian." "I think the Gothic tilts and tournaments exceeded both in use and elegance, even the Grecian gymnastics," he writes.¹⁵ Thus he constantly balances against each other "heroic" manners and "Gothic." The word fairly strews his pages—"Gothic ages," "Gothic warriors," "Gothic manners," "Gothic enchantments." Frequently he too, like Addison, associates the term specifically with literature, though now purely in a neutral sense, writing of "Gothic tales," "Gothic poems," "Gothic romancers." He even employs the phrase "Gothic romance" which is later to be so trippingly upon the critical tongue.¹⁶ Hurd's achievement, then is the re-neutralizing of the word "Gothic." Under his pen it loses its implication of libel,

¹⁴ See Phelps, *Beginnings*, 112.

¹⁵ *Works*, 1888, vol. III.

¹⁶ *Works*, II, 10. "It cannot seem strange, that of all the forms in which poetry has appeared, that of pagan fable and Gothic romance, should in their turns be found the most alluring to the true poet." See also II,

and becomes once more a staid adjective of description—"mediaeval," without prejudice or explicit prepossession.

After 1762 Hurd's followers in this use of the word are legion. Beattie, in 1771, writes of "gothic days" and "my gothic lyre," where "gothic" is obviously an adjective of neither praise nor blame, and where the lower case "g" indicates that the term is losing its racial and linguistic affiliations.¹⁷ But the most important of these followers was Horace Walpole, for it was Walpole who, by calling his *Castle of Otranto* on its title-page a "Gothic story," really launched "Gothic" on its way as a critical term in prose fiction. He thus associated the term for all time with a certain type of novel. Walpole achieved this critical feat quite unpremeditatedly. To him, as to Hurd, "Gothic" meant "mediaeval" and no more. This is his habitual use of the term in his letters. Of architecture he uses it often, as one would expect from Strawberry Hill,—“a simple Gothic arch,” or “a Gothic Columbarium.” And *Otranto* was to him a “Gothic” story simply because it was a “mediaeval” story. It is important also that Walpole, like Beattie, uses the word “Gothic” at least once without the capital.¹⁸

From the time of Hurd and Walpole on through the rest of the eighteenth century this new meaning, “mediaeval,” exists side by side with the meaning “barbarous,” the dark age being one or the other according to one's point of view as neo-classic conformist or romantic rebel. In 1775 L. A. Barbault, in a Gothic story, *Sir Bertrand*, speaks of “old Gothic” (*i. e.*, mediaeval) “romance” in contrast to Oriental story. Clara Reeve, in the *Old English Baron* of 1778, speaks of the tale as “a Gothic story, being a picture of Gothic times and manners.” Maturin, in *Montorio*, in 1806, uses “Gothic romance” in the same bearing. This meaning, like meaning one, extends late into the nineteenth century, for in the 1863 edition of Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, a “Gothic romance,” is still a mediaeval tale.

So the second meaning of “Gothic” as a critical term in the

239, and III, 203. Note that “Gothic” here means simply “mediaeval” and no more. It is a term neither of approval nor of disapproval.

¹⁷ *Minstrel*, I, xi, and lx.

¹⁸ Letter to Cole, March 9, 1765: “a head filled like mine with gothic story.”

eighteenth century, is simply "mediaeval." This meaning is not an off-shoot of the first meaning, except in so far as the use of "Gothic" as a literary term in meaning one, helped to make easier its use as a literary term in meaning two. It is not an off-shoot of it. It goes back to an original source with it; and its difference in meaning represents not an unbroken semantic change, but the readapting of an old word in a totally new sense, motivated by a change in point of view. The old meaning "barbarous" marches on unchanged. The new meaning "mediaeval," with a growing tendency to be commendatory, marches on beside it.¹⁹

We have now two colorings for the word "Gothic," each apparently independent of the other in its development, though deriving each from the same root. The third, and for us the most important of these meanings, "supernatural," is an outgrowth of the second of the former two.

Walpole's *Otranto* and Clara Reeve's *Old English Baron* were literally "Gothic stories" in the second sense of the word "Gothic"; that is, they aimed at a mediaeval atmosphere by means of mediaeval background,—lonely castles, haunted towers, subterranean passages, knights in armor, magic. But to the reading public the outstanding feature of these stories appears to have been, not their gothic setting, but their supernatural incident. Imitators and followers of Walpole and Reeve, therefore, being thrifty persons, and acutely conscious of the public's taste in best sellers,—for the Gothic romance was the first best seller,—kept accenting this spectral side of the genre more and more, because there was a market for it; until, under the influence of new styles and themes, most notably those of the German robber, the Rosicrucian mystic, and the Oriental djinn,²⁰ the original mediaeval tone and setting of the romances was in many cases lost.²¹ The name "Gothic,"

¹⁹ The propagation of this change was undoubtedly influenced, after the publication of Percy's runic pieces and Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, by the new romantic interest in Norse and Celtic antiquities, called indiscriminately "Gothic" in the eighteenth century. See Farley, *Scandinavian Influences*, 45 n. Olaus Magnus's works appear as those of Olaus Magnus the Goth. Warton speaks of "Gothic Scalds." Farley, *op. cit.*, lists a Norse or pseudo-Norse poem of 1789 called "an old Gothic romance." And the Hevarer Saga appears as "A Gothic Ode." This literary use would confirm the others.

²⁰ See Schiller's *Robbers*, and *Ghostseer*, and Beckford's *Vathek*.

²¹ As in Lewis's *Monk* and Godwin's *Caleb Williams*.

however, had in the meanwhile stamped itself indelibly upon the type, and continued to be used as a catch-word for it, even although the original occasion for its use had vanished. The result was the logical one; the term "Gothic" itself imperceptibly underwent a change in the direction of specialization to meet the new conditions, gradually lost all connotation of mediaeval, and became at last, as a literary term, a mere synonym for that grotesque, ghastly, and violently superhuman in fiction which had become the outstanding feature in "Gothic" novel writing. Gothic romance became, concretely, the romance of the supernatural, and "Gothic" identified itself with ghastly.

Just when this transmogrification started it is difficult to say with assurance. It undoubtedly was expedited by the fact that in the case of meanings one and two, "Gothic" had already become a general critical term associated with literature and taste, or even, as in the quotations above from Addison and Warton, with imagination. It appears to have been fairly well established, however, by 1800. In 1798, Nathan Drake, himself a gothicist of some note, writes in a miscellany, *Literary Hours*: "The most enlightened mind . . . involuntarily acknowledges the power of Gothic agency, a phrase in which "Gothic" unequivocally is "supernatural." In 1799, also, the author of a third edition of a choice musée of horrors in prose, chooses to call his melange "Gothic Stories,"²² notwithstanding the fact that the mediaeval flavor is so weak that it is present largely by inference. In 1804 again, Drake employs the term "Gothic imagination" where we should use wild or ghostly imagination. J. Stagg, a blind Cumbrian poet, entitles a volume of poems dated 1810, *Legendary, Gothic, and Romantic Tales*; but many of the poems included are gothic only in the restricted sense of the term.²³ In the *European Magazine* for 1815, there is an odd poem, half *Christabel*, half *Lamia*, the whole set back apparently in a frame of Druidical magic not unlike that of Mrs. Radcliffe's poem *Stonehenge*.²⁴ The mediaeval element is very nebulous, yet it is called *Christobell, a Gothic Tale*.

These examples would tend to show that the term "Gothic," in

²² In the Widener Library at Harvard.

²³ The association of "Gothic" with "legendary" and "romantic" in this instance is significant.

²⁴ See E. H. Coleridge's edition of *Christabel*.

its modern transferred sense, is a fairly late usage, post-dating the chief Gothic romancers, Walpole, Reeve, Lewis, and Radcliffe, who never used the adjective except with mediaeval connotation, and not greatly ante-dating the end of the eighteenth century.

So—apart from its technical use in linguistics and architecture—run the ups and downs of “Gothic,” from a race-term to a sneering-word, from a sneering-word to a cool adjective, from a cool adjective to a cliché in criticism.

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WORDSWORTH'S *MARGARET; OR THE RUINED
COTTAGE*

To point out similarities in thought, style, and diction between the work of the French Romanticists of the late Eighteenth Century and the poetry of Wordsworth is by no means a difficult task, for, as one would suppose, it was from these French writers of the Continent that the English poet derived in part, at least, the thought and spirit that animated his work. It was not, however, entirely a pious and unreasoned reverence for these solitary worshippers of Nature which made Wordsworth the man he was. England herself, had, by the time of Wordsworth, begun to experience a definite reaction from the super-conventionality of the times. That highly-wrought state of society which found its most bitter expression in class-hatred, and which resulted in the lordly exaltation of the rich and titled, and a merciless trampling of the poor and degraded—the artificial solidification of human life and institutions, and the corresponding artistic *cliché*, which produced nothing more fit for poetic expression than that polished, but unflexible Popian couplet,—all this had a profound influence on the sensitive soul of Wordsworth. Both England and France, finding themselves involved in an iron net-work of conventionality, sought a similar escape from their toil,—a return to Nature.

Rousseau's uncompromising insistence upon a return to Nature also expressed in substance the English Romantic spirit. Born of a reaction from artificiality, rationality, and high-strung city

life, the Romantic movement insisted first of all upon spontaneity and simplicity of thought and action. Going back to Nature meant, in the first place, a change of attitude from society to the individual. It meant an abandonment of worldly pleasure and dignity for solitude, seclusion, and simplicity of life. It meant a deep love and reverence for the *naïve*,—a delight in the helpless, bright-eyed child; a joy in the tiniest woodland flower; a sermon in the rain-washed stone; and good in everything that had not been contaminated by the filth of the city. Lastly, it meant a new religion. The theology and dogma of the Eighteenth Century, attempting to justify a God as complex and brazen as the times that conceived him, was now swept away for a God of the valley, delighting in laughter of little children, and making his home with farmer and herdsman. Nature, in place of dogmatic theology, now became the way of approach to God. It was one of the primary tenets of these early Romanticists that a far-reaching, transcendent knowledge would be imparted to the faithful worshipper of Nature,—that the mind in close communion with the beauties of Nature would grow in a wealth and power entirely denied to the mere discursive kind. Thus in the Romanticist was combined the Pagan worship of Nature and the worship of that unseen anthropomorphic God which, deeply rooted in Hebraic theology, had had so marked an influence on the abstract mind of the Middle Ages.

In reading Wordsworth's *Margaret; or the Ruined Cottage*, which the poet later incorporated in the first book of the *Excursion*, one is often reminded of *Paul et Virginie*. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was in no way a servile imitator of his forerunners, Rousseau and Buffon. He struck out for himself into the field of Nature, observing and tabulating anew her varied laws, and seeking ever fresh and stimulating experience in the contemplation of her beauties. But in spirit he was a true son of Rousseau.

In both Saint-Pierre's story of Paul and Virginia, and Wordsworth's poem of Margaret may be observed those distinctly Romantic tendencies which we noted above. Of similarity in feeling, emotion, and thought, and, indeed, in attitude toward life in general little need be said. The scene of each story is laid amid the beauties and charms of a Nature which everywhere breathes of the spirit of God. It is life and communion with this Nature

that brings to the peaceful and reverent inhabitants contentment, love, and joy. Without, in the cold, hard, rational world,—in the savage cities teeming with vice and sin—reigns discord, hate, and misery. Contentment and happiness come only with retirement from worldly pleasure, and endure only so long as these true children of Nature keep themselves unspotted from the world. As the affairs of the world slowly penetrate their quiet, peaceful abodes, then comes an evil that no virtue or goodness can withstand. In both stories it is solitude that frees the mind for the generous outpourings of the spirit of God. And this communion with Nature and solitude also brings with it an infinite tenderness, as well as an emphasis upon the more primitive and gentler emotions.

It is a similarity in more specific details, however, that makes one feel that possibly Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* was one of the sources of Wordsworth's poem. To be sure, Wordsworth does not mention the Frenchman's story in the preface to his poem. But this fact need not trouble one. Wordsworth, who had probably read the Frenchman's story many years before (some twenty-five or thirty years elapsed between the dates of composition), had, by the time he started his poem of *Margaret*, quite forgotten the details of the story, and would scarcely have recognized it as a possible source of his poem. How much the vitality and fertility of the imagination depends upon the subtle operations of the subconscious mind, it is hard to say. But this much we may say, that the unfolding of the imagination involved in artistic expression is shrouded in deep mystery. The details of Saint-Pierre's story, though lost to outward memory, might well have become a part of the permanent possessions of Wordsworth's inner mind.

The setting of each story is similar. The cottages, now in irreparable ruin as the tales begin, are withdrawn from the world, one, on an island in the Indian Ocean, where scarcely a murmur reaches it, but the ceaseless, muffled roar of the sea; the other, in England, in a less secluded spot, but almost equally removed from contact with city life. Wordsworth's description of the remains of Margaret's cottage,—

four naked walls
That stared upon each other,

compares well with the general impression given by Saint-Pierre of the ruined state of the abodes once loved by the two French

families. The one-time inhabitants had cast their lots amid the simple charms of Nature. But, as if not wholly satisfied with a Nature wild and unadorned, each family had cultivated gardens, which are quite distinct and separate from the uncouth and untended wastes lying round about, although, as Saint-Pierre says of Paul's garden,

Il ne s'était pas écarté de celui [le plan] de la Nature.

One might almost say that these gardens symbolize the prosperity, decline, and final ruin of those simple and reverent worshippers of Nature who had once cultivated them. While yet life is dear, and faith in the future keen for these people, their gardens bloom with delicate, exquisite beauty. But when misfortune and hardship come with the intrusion of the world without, then the flowers begin to wilt, the stalks to droop, and weeds and thorns quickly spring up, which choke all but a bare semblance of the beauty and loveliness that had once quickened the hearts of those unfortunate people.

The similarity between Wordsworth's Pedlar and Saint-Pierre's Old Man, both of whom narrate the stories in question, is too striking to escape the notice of even the superficial reader. This is the Frenchman's description of his "*homme déjà sur âge*."

"Il était, suivant la coutume des anciens habitants, en petite veste et en long caleçon. Il marchait nu-pieds, et s'appuyait sur un bâton de bois d'ébène. Ses cheveux étaient tout blancs, et sa physiologie noble et simple."

With this description compare the following lines of Wordsworth about his pedlar:

A man of reverend age,
But stout and hale, for travel unimpaired.
There was he seen upon the cottage bench,
Recumbent in the shade, as if asleep;
An iron-pointed staff lay at his side.

Although differing much in phraseology, the descriptions in each case give one like impressions of two venerable old men. We must not assert too boldly, however, that the Old Man of Saint-Pierre's story is the prototype of Wordsworth's Pedlar, for in the preface to his poem Wordsworth gives us a hint of the source of his character. But it is interesting to observe that Wordsworth is here

not describing any single person he had ever known or seen, but rather several persons. Just as the Old Man in Saint-Pierre's story, we may believe, is a portrait of the author himself, who, unfitted by temperament to live in a society which showers its blessings only upon the flattering and obsequious, fled the irksome bonds of propriety and convention to take up his abode with a true and simple-hearted people; so the Pedlar of the opening book of the *Excursion* is, according to Wordsworth's own words, in part a picture of the man he himself would like to have been, had not circumstances of birth and education guided him into other walks of life. In the same preface, Wordsworth speaks also of two other men he had once known who contributed to the picture of this character,—one, an old Scotchman, named Patrick, a kinsman of his and a pedlar; the other, a pedlar whom he had known when a school boy, and who had made a deep impression upon his childish imagination. It is scarcely too much to say, I think, that the sage Old Man of Saint-Pierre's story also contributed his bit to Wordsworth's Pedlar.

It is not only in dress and physical appearance that these two old men resemble each other. Even more is a similarity apparent in the moral and spiritual sides of their natures. To be sure, the manner of characterization is in the case of each different. Wordsworth devotes some ten pages (Aldine Edition) to a detailed description of the Wanderer's spiritual life, showing how from childhood to youth and youth to manhood, Nature had been the chief agent in forming the moral and intellectual possessions of the man. Instead of adopting this direct narrative method in dealing with his character, Saint-Pierre chooses rather to show us from the Old Man's attitude toward life, from his reactions to the sufferings and hardships of others the kind of a person he really is. Both men, paragons of wisdom and virtue quite beyond their learning and station in life, have been ardent lovers and worshipers of Nature. And Nature who "never did betray the heart that loved her," lavish in the abundance of her blessings bestowed upon these simple children of hers, leaves nothing undone that might add to their spiritual, moral, and intellectual welfare. It is with a childish delight that these two men, so long separated from the outer world of action, tell their simple tales of happiness and misfortune.

The name Margaret seems to have been a favorite with Wordsworth, and appears to have responded to the poet's imagination as peculiarly befitting a person in humble station of life. In *Paul et Virginie* we see that Paul's mother is named Margaret,—a woman of less culture and refinement than the more religious and melancholy Madame de la Tour. Wordsworth wrote in the preface to his poem that "several passages describing the employment and demeanor of Margaret during her affliction" he gleaned from certain observations which he had made in Dorsetshire and Somersetshire. But he also states that the character as a whole is composite, partaking of the traits and virtues of women who had come under his direct observation, and of whom he had been told. Wordsworth's Margaret, however, resembles more closely Virginia's mother, Madame de la Tour, although Paul's mother, too, possesses many of those tender graces for which we love the English Margaret. Of Madame de la Tour Saint-Pierre says,

"Je trouvai dans madame de la Tour une personne d'une figure intéressante, pleine de noblesse et de mélancolie."

In essence we find Wordsworth's description of Margaret similar.

She was a woman of a steady mind,
Tender and deep in her excess of love;
Not speaking much, pleased rather with the joy
Of her own thoughts: by some especial care
Her temper had been framed, as if to make
A Being, who by adding love to peace
Might live on earth a life of happiness.

These two pathetic stories of happiness and misfortune conclude in a similar way. Both listeners find in the gloomy recital of love and joy completely wiped out by cruel disaster a human experience that touches the depths of their souls. It is Wordsworth who in his simple, sincere lines expresses more delicately and poignantly than Saint-Pierre the effect of his tale of suffering upon his fellow-companion.

The Old Man ceased: he saw that I was moved.
From that low bench, rising instinctively
I turned aside in weakness, nor had power
To thank him for the tale which he had told.

Saint-Pierre's rather blunt, matter-of-fact way of ending his story lacks much of Wordsworth's simple dignity.

"En disant ces mots, ce bon vieillard s'éloigna en versant des larmes; et les miennes avaient coulé plus d'une fois pendant ce funeste récit."

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MUSSET ET COPPÉE INSPIRATEURS DE ROSTAND

Dans sa copieuse étude sur Rostand,¹ Jules Haraszti consacre un chapitre très étoffé aux maîtres de l'auteur dramatique. A côté de Corneille, de Victor Hugo, de Banville et de tant d'autres, Alfred de Musset a sa place marquée parmi les modèles de Rostand. Outre l'art des tirades lyriques et musicales, outre l'idéalisme glorifiant la souffrance et l'amour pur, qu'ils ont en commun, il y a surtout l'influence pour ainsi dire "matérielle" et directe de la délicieuse comédie *A quoi rêvent les jeunes filles* sur les *Romanesques* et, selon Jules Lemaître, celle de *Carmosine* sur la *Princesse lointaine*.

Une troisième pièce de Rostand et, cette fois, une pièce du Rostand "arrivé," en pleine possession de sa doctrine autant que de sa routine, paraît devoir quelques-uns de ses contours les plus importants à un conte de Musset. *L'Histoire d'un merle blanc* (1842) appartient aux contes les plus connus, le plus souvent cités de l'auteur qui s'y met en scène sous les traits du merle célèbre et rare. Rostand, à son tour, prête la moitié de son âme à Chantecler, symbole du poète idéaliste et optimiste, illustre auteur que la foule prône et déteste à la fois. Chacune des pièces de théâtre d'Edmond Rostand fait sensation tout d'abord par le choix du sujet et du "milieu." Dans *Chantecler* il renchérit sur toutes en choisissant pour héros des bêtes et en rehaussant l'éclat de la scène par toute une exhibition de plumes bariolées.² C'est que ses héros

¹ *Edmond Rostand*, Paris, Fontemoing, 1913.

² Ce n'est pas le moment de passer en revue les prédécesseurs de Chantecler sur la scène et dans la littérature française. Nous renvoyons nos lecteurs à un article qui va paraître dans la *Revue bleue* (*Sujets curieux dans la comédie du dix-septième siècle*), où nous nous efforçons de tirer de l'oubli des pièces de théâtre qui, deux cents ans avant Rostand, avaient demandé aux costumes d'animaux des effets comiques et des coups de théâtre.

sont des oiseaux qu'il paraît préférer aux quadrupèdes, à peine représentés par le Chien, le Chat, la Taupe,—de même qu'aux insectes qui se contentent de fournir les chœurs et l'accompagnement musical de quelques parties plus ou moins lyriques. La tradition littéraire, dès le fameux *Ver-Vert* de Gresset et *l'Oiseau blanc*, de Diderot (qu'on peut hardiment rapprocher du *Merle blanc* de Musset non seulement pour les héros, mais aussi pour le ton), fait une place d'honneur aux oiseaux, et le culte de l'aigle, de l'hirondelle et du rossignol est devenu une mode obligatoire pour les prosélytes de Victor Hugo et de Michelet. Cette préférence s'explique avant tout par le chant de certains oiseaux qui les rapproche des chanteurs humains, des poètes (le merle de Musset et Chantecler seront poètes en effet!) autant que par la science du vol qui les rapproche des cieux et qui les fait considérer comme des êtres supérieurs.

Musset accepte tout le bagage de la tradition littéraire qu'il enrichit de ses trouvailles à lui.³ Son merle blanc est un être exceptionnel comme Chantecler: poète de renom et personnage intéressant, il a pour lui toutes les "femmes" qui, en général, ne sont pas à même de comprendre son génie. (La pie s'effraie de sa voix tandis que la douceuse tourterelle s'endort pendant qu'il chante; les grives sont trop folles pour approfondir quoi que ce soit.) Il finit par s'éprendre d'une étrangère, comme Chantecler: il épouse une jeune merlette anglaise, romancière comme George Sand. Dans la première ivresse de son amour, il croit avoir trouvé la femme digne de lui: toujours comme Chantecler, il se désabuse bientôt. Notons que la merlette doit sa blancheur à une pommade; la poule faisane, aventurière à son tour, a emprunté à son mâle son plumage éclatant.

Il va sans dire que les oiseaux de Musset ne se contentent pas de jouer leur rôle de symboles ou d'hommes masqués; ils veulent vivre en même temps leur vie de vrais oiseaux, avec leur caractère apparent, leurs attitudes typiques que le poète des *Nuits* a saisi d'un coup d'œil digne de l'auteur des *Fables*. Nous ne relevons ici que deux oiseaux "littéraires" qui figurent aussi dans *Chantecler*: le rossignol auquel le héros porte envie et qui aime éperdu-

³ Le vieux poète classique Kacatogan continue la lignée de Ver-Vert, des perroquets et des cacatois, oiseaux "en chef" de l'exotisme littéraire du dix-huitième siècle.

ment la rose hautaine;⁴ et le pigeon ramier, très affairé et très rapide, dont un cousin, pigeon voyageur, rempli, dans *Chantecler*, les fonctions de facteur des oiseaux.

Ce rapprochement doit être complété par celui du ton, commun aux deux ouvrages. C'est celui du persiflage spirituel et souvent très fort qui se fait voir chez Musset autant que chez Rostand. Le merle noir (encore un merle!) prend sur tous points le contrepied des opinions de Chantecler et, par conséquent, de celles du merle blanc de Musset: il représente l'esprit étroit, terre à terre, dénigreur de tout génie et de tout enthousiasme. Et s'il se met en frais d'innombrables jeux de mots, il pourrait en avoir trouvé le moule dans l'histoire de son confrère blanc, ou les *Grives* tiennent des propos *Grivois* et où l'on parle du feu roi *Pie X*, roi des *pies*!

Un rapprochement significatif doit être fait pour une tirade de Cyrano. Celui-ci, en administrant une correction au vicomte de Valvert et en lui donnant une leçon de verve et d'esprit, paraît s'inspirer d'une des poésies les plus populaires du principal modèle de son auteur. La fameuse *Ballade à la lune* fit scandale: le jeune Alfred de Musset, espèce d'"enfant sublime," eut l'impertinence de se moquer de la Lune, objet de tant de soupirs languissants et de l'affection passionnée des romantiques.⁵ Tout en se réservant le droit de faire valoir les sentiments de dévouement et de tendresse que lui inspirait la Lune, la Diane des Anciens,—ce qui est le cas, en effet, dans la deuxième partie de la *Ballade*,—il montre à ses lecteurs le talent qu'il a de surcharger d'abord son invocation de comparaisons burlesques et irrévérencieuses sur le compte de la fidèle compagne de ses promenades mélancoliques.⁶ Cyrano en agira de même en nous donnant un échantillon de son savoir-faire: il tourne en ridicule son nez trop grand, une difformité qui, au fond, lui cause du chagrin et dont la pensée fait vibrer en lui des cordes plutôt sérieuses. Notons, du reste, que le vrai Cyrano étant l'auteur d'un voyage imaginaire à la Lune, son nom dut nécessairement attirer l'attention de Rostand sur cette mémorable "*Ballade à la Lune*."

⁴ Cf. *The Nightingale and the Rose*, d'Oscar Wilde, où le rossignol meurt, comme à la fin de "*Chantecler*."

⁵ Cf. le *Charivari à la Lune* dans les *Musardises*.

⁶ Ainsi la lune serait un "faucheur" sans pattes et sans bras, idée baroque, puisque l'araignée sans pattes n'a par de forme caractéristique.

Parmi les maîtres d'Edmond Rostand, il faut réserver une place d'honneur à François Coppée. L'auteur si populaire du *Passant* fut l'un des fournisseurs ordinaires du "théâtre des poètes" dont Rostand trouvera la formule parfaite. Rien de plus ingénieux, de plus "rostandesque" que les péripéties et les mots finals des drames héroïques tels que *Severo Torelli*. Alain, dans l'immense mosaïque de la Guerre de cent ans, réduit par son frère à l'inactivité des villanelles et des rêves, ouvre les ailes, s'arrache au nid qui ressemble à une prison, et finit par se briser. C'est comme une première ébauche de la figure de l'Aiglon. *Les Jacobites*, drame joué à l'Odéon en novembre 1885 et qui marque les débuts de Mme Segond-Weber, semble avoir prêté à l'Aiglon plus d'une situation importante. Le jeune et sympathique rejeton d'une famille détrônée prend la résolution de reconquérir le pays dont le peuple le préfère à ses maîtres actuels. Il est aimé de plus d'une femme (Lady Dora, femme de Lord Fingall, et Marie, fille du mendiant aveugle Angus), et un rendez-vous compromet presque le succès de la guerre et tous les efforts d'un patriote ardent, aux manières un peu théâtrales (Angus, Flambeau). Comme le duc de Reichstadt, le prince Charles-Edouard finit par avoir des doutes et par reculer devant l'immense responsabilité des meurtres commis en son nom. La tragédie s'exhale en élégie⁷

Le *Luthier de Crémone* contient en germe ce qui est essentiel dans le sujet de *Cyrano*, l'antithèse romantique et le sacrifice cornélien. Filipino, le bossu, ose caresser un impossible rêve d'amour. Après un moment d'espoir, préparé psychologiquement par un triomphe du héros difforme,⁸ il se résigne, il renonce à l'amour; de plus, il fait son possible pour assurer la victoire à son rival Sandro, artiste inférieur, mais homme beau et aimé de Giannina. Après cela, on n'a presque plus besoin de rappeler le succès bruyant autant que durable du *Luthier de Crémone* (1876).

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⁷ Notons que Coppée sait préparer des scènes à effet fondées sur des détails singuliers et pittoresques tels que les jouets de l'Aiglon. Cf. surtout les scènes de Joé, *Jacobites*, IV, 4 et 5.

⁸ Des liens plus directs, plus "matériels" réunissent l'Aiglon au *Fils de l'Empereur*, poésie de Coppée, cf. Haraszti, *Edmond Rostand*, p. 57, n.

NOTES ON THE *RABENSCHLACHT*

The Middle High German minstrel epic called the *Rabenschlacht*¹ describes at length how King Etzel promises to help Dietrich von Bern conquer his kingdom. Queen Helche has an evil dream; a dragon carries off her two sons on a wide heath, where they are killed by a griffon. Soon after the two young princes, called Scharpfe and Orfte, beg their parents to allow them to accompany Dietrich on his campaign. But both Etzel and his queen refuse to let them go. Moved by their entreaties, Dietrich himself asks Etzel for this permission, and finally even Helche, seeing that Dietrich promises to be responsible for their safety, joins her prayers to those of her sons and Dietrich. Then Etzel yields, and the princes prepare to take part in the expedition. Arrived in Italy, Dietrich leaves the young men in Bern, charging the hero Ilsan with their care. Moreover he asks his own brother Diether not to let them leave the city. No sooner has the army left than the princes entreat Ilsan to allow them to ride out. At first he refuses, but finally decides to accompany them. In the dense fog he is separated from them and Diether. The princes spend the night on the heath. Next morning, when the sun disperses the fog, they meet the hero Witege, Dietrich's enemy. They attack him, but are slain all three. In the meantime, Dietrich has defeated the army of Ermanarich in a terrible battle which lasted twelve days. When he is at last victorious, one of his men brings him the news of the death of the two youths and of Diether. Dietrich hastens to the spot where the three corpses are lying; he kisses the wounds of Etzel's sons and bites off a joint of his finger, from sorrow. The rest of the story is not of immediate concern here. Suffice it to say that Dietrich pursues Witege and drives him into the sea; himself returns to Etzel, where he obtains the pardon of the king and his wife for the death of their sons, of which he was the innocent cause.

¹ For this study I use the edition of E. Martin, *Deutsches Heldenbuch*, zweiter Teil, Berlin, 1866, pp. 217-326. The episodes here discussed form stanzas 340-357 and 896.

I

It is two themes of this narrative which deserve some discussion and have, as far as I know, never received the attention of scholars. The first of these motifs is that of the young heroes who ride out for battle against the will of their guardian. It is found in several Old French *chansons de geste*. In the *Chevalerie Vivien*² Guischart, Vivien's brother, desires to be dubbed knight. His uncle William tells him that he is too young, but he gets hold of a horse and escapes his guardian Gautier. He insists that Guibourc, his aunt, confer upon him the order of knighthood and then follows the army of William, overtaking it after having killed some Saracens on the road. The outcome is not tragic in that the young hero is not killed but merely taken prisoner.

This episode is already found in the older *Chanson de Willame*. There William leaves his nephew Gui in the care of his wife Guibourc. The young hero is loath to stay at home; he asks his aunt to let him go and promises to tell William that he stole away secretly and against her will. Then she permits him to go. He joins the squires and is not noticed by his uncle until some time later.³

The same motif is found in the so-called *geste du roi*. In the long and late poem *Charlemagne* by Girard d'Amiens, the young Charles who has assumed the name Mainet at the court of the Saracen king of Toledo, prays his guardian David in vain to let him go to battle with him and the other Frenchmen who have taken service under the Moorish king Galafre; then he rushes out of the tower where he has been confined for his own safety, enters the battle line and kills the enemy leader.⁴

In the chanson *Aspremont* the young hero is Roland himself who, condemned to stay behind at Laon, cannot endure the sight of the army in battle array. With some companions he breaks out of his prison, throws a number of Bretons from their horses and joins the host.⁵

² Léon Gautier, *Les Épopées françaises*, Paris, 1882, iv, 457.

³ Ed. H. Suchier, Halle, 1911, vv. 1543-1562.

⁴ L. Gautier, *op. cit.*, III, Paris, 1880, p. 45.

⁵ *La Chanson d'Aspremont*, éd. Louis Brandin, Paris, 1919, vv. 1244-1315, pp. 41-43.

It is therefore most likely that this motif, like so many others, had its origin in the French *chanson de geste* and was later borrowed by the authors of the Middle High German minstrel epic.⁶

II

In the second place, Dietrich's strange expression of his sorrow deserves some explanation. Immoderate signs of mourning are quite common among many savage races and have been so at all times. Plutarch remarks on it, admonishing his friend to show, as a true Hellene, more discretion than the barbaric races in giving vent to his feelings of sorrow.⁷ Among the many ways of manifesting grief for a deceased person self-mutilation has always played quite an important part. The most famous example of classical antiquity is that of Orestes who in sorrow over the murder of Clytemnestra bit off one of his fingers.⁸ Skeletons with finger joints missing have also been discovered in the excavations of Crete.⁹ Amputation of finger joints in mourning over the loss of a child or a husband was quite common among many North American Indian tribes.¹⁰ A similar custom obtained in British New Guinea, where the women would amputate the top of a finger up to the first joint, at the death of a child.¹¹ There can be very little doubt that the episode in the Middle High German poem is an archaic feature dating from a time far anterior to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the Middle High German epic flourished.¹²

⁶ Cf. R. Heinzel, *Ueber die ostgothische Heldensage*, *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.*, Band CXIX. The theme under discussion is met with in antiquity; cf. Livy, XXVII. 19.

⁷ *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, cap. 22.

⁸ Pausanias, *Descr. Gr.*, VIII, 34. 3.

⁹ Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, London, s. d., p. 31.

¹⁰ Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, London, 1918, III, 227.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 237.

¹² Finger mutilation, though for a different purpose, existed in Iceland, where a law was necessary to punish any woman who bit off her child's finger in order that it might live longer; cf. on this subject M. Bartels, *Isländischer Brauch und Volksglaube in Bezug auf die Nachkommenschaft*, *Zeitsch. f. Ethnologie*, XXXII, 1900, p. 81.

Both episodes discussed in this study are rather instructive for an understanding of the genesis of the German epic, which is undoubtedly a juxtaposition of elements of very unequal age. Comparatively modern themes are found side by side with others which lead us back to a time and a civilization prior to the empire of Charlemagne and the influence of Christianity on the rude tribes of the Central European forests.

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TWO SLICES OF LITERATURE

Some would have us look upon every piece of writing in a detached manner, holding with Mr. Saintsbury that "it is what the artist does with his materials, not where he gets them, that is the great question." But to look on literature as the output of solitary craftsmen, is to revel in dry, merely technical studies and to lose the intimate human touch that appeals to all normal minded, gossiping men, the touch that made for the success of the old BOOK-MAN with its details about what George Barr McCutcheon had for breakfast and what sort of furniture Marion Crawford used in his Italian villa. So the biographical element was introduced. Some of the earliest extensive accounts of literary men, Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, satisfied first the biographical requirement, and then studied the verse as verse. This method is that which governs such a "standard" work as Gosse's *Eighteenth Century Literature* (1888), avowedly planned on the selection and the exclusion of names and the apportioning of space to individual figures. This method still controls Moody and Lovett's *English Literature* (1902) although these gentlemen have set the chief figures in relief, "and the minor figures have been grouped about them in an endeavor thus to suggest their significance." Thus we have the various "ages" and "periods" of literary history used to order and systematize the study.

It is quite apparent, though, as Mr. Chesterton remarks, that "it is useless to urge the isolated individuality of the artist, apart from his attitude to his age." Investigation of biographical data

showed how the early training of Blake, the physical infirmity of Pope, and the later circumstances of Swift affected the character and intent of their writings. Consequently the scholars began to study "origins" and "influences" and concluded that no writer was really solitary, "indifferent to the commonwealth and unconcerned about moral things." Taine insisted and Hancock repeated with apposite example the doctrine that every man should be considered chiefly in relation to his "age"—in the light of the social, economic, political, and philosophical conditions of his time. "We cannot understand a man," these persons said substantially, "unless we understand the conditions under which he lived and wrote." All studies thus became aids to the study of literature. Professor Baldwin, in his preface to *English Medieval Literature* (1914) even congratulates himself that the scantiness of medieval biography enables him to speak of poems in their relation to theology and sociology, unencumbered by personal detail.

Yet still we face a difficulty. It hampers us wherever we turn. It is one of the perennially perplexing problems of all time. It is the problem of time. Men may be grouped by the dates of their births and deaths, between 1660 and 1780, or between 1830 and 1880. Works may be assembled according as they indicate this or that particular "movement." We may trace the "beginnings of Romanticism" and find fertile seeds in years long, long before the flower bloomed. We may scamper up and down the years and pick up here and there a "tragedy of blood." And at the end we will have proved little or nothing. Even Miss Allene Gregory, who in her volume on *The French Revolution and The English Novel* (1915) says that "economic changes and resulting social conditions" affect literature, considers her observations on this subject "superficial and commonplace" and is unwilling to grant, except as a side issue, that literature offers evidences which may be valuable for the historian. History must be her hand-maid; she will not be history's. Just so long as students insist on writing a history of literature instead of admitting that what they scrutinize is really a part of the literature of history, they will be unable to solve the problem of time. They will have to confess with Mr. Chesterton that "the names never come in the same order in actual time as they come in any serious study of a spirit or a tendency; and the critic who wishes to move onward with the life of an epoch,

must be always running backwards and forwards along its mere dates." Or else they will declare with Miss Gregory that "chronological generalizations made in a pigeon-holing spirit are valueless; they are merely matters of convenience."

Write a biography (I have done it) and you get nowhere unless you happen to have selected a man who in the Carlylean sense epitomizes his time. Write the history of a particular metrical device (and I have done that too) and you produce nothing of any value as a reflection of the progress of the human mind and human life. What we really need in this world of books is the story of human thought and human society, not an account of sonnet technique or personal dates and profits. In spite of the aversion to mere dates, already mentioned, it is true that what we want to know is what men were thinking at certain times. You may agree with the English essayist: "Mere chronological order is almost as arbitrary as alphabetical order. To deal with Darwin, Dickens, Browning in the sequence of the birthday book would be to forge about as real a chain as the 'Tacitus, Tolstoy, Tupper' of a biographical dictionary." However, if you do agree (and I do, in part, and at times), I shall ask you to bear with me for a few more paragraphs and observe the effect of applying a chronological method in two instances.

In the critical jargon which professors use are two phrases: "the graveyard school of poetry" and "the satire of the early eighteenth century." These are my examples. I shall look at them with one eye while I watch the calendar with the other. I shall compare two decades. The first extends from 1730 to 1740; and the second from 1740 to 1750. The first of these, that of the 'Thirties, was critical, satirical, given largely to condemnation of the existing modes and the existing social customs and life. The second of these, the 'Forties, was gloomy, anti-social, disgusted with people, and quite content with country churches and tottering tombstones where one might regret through many a solemn hour the sadness of life, and its unhappiness. The limits of the periods are not exact. Men do not change their minds promptly on the turning of a new decade. Yet the correspondence is close enough for the general purpose.

Here is Edward Young, ambitious in his youth, of whom his son remarked to Boswell that "he had met with many disappoint-

ments." In his seven satires on *Love of Fame* (1725-1728) he slashed at the evils he saw in London:

What swarms of amorous grandmothers I see!
 And misses, ancient in iniquity!
 What blasting whispers, and what loud declaiming!
 What lying, drinking, bawding, swearing, gaming!
 Friendship so cold, such warm incontinence;
 Such gripping avarice, such profuse expense;
 Such dead devotion, such a zeal for crimes;
 Such licensed ill, such masquerading times;
 Such venal faith, such misapplied applause;
 Such flattered guilt, and such inverted laws!
 Such dissolution through the whole I find,
 'Tis not a world, but chaos of mankind.

After looking at sights like these, and inveighing against them without effect, is it any wonder that the man of letters should retire from a community where "virtue's a pretty thing to make a show" and betake himself to the writing of *Night Thoughts* (1742-1745) on immortality and the terrible vengeance of a just God? He finds amid the violated decencies of the world no inspiration but in contemplation of "what beams upon it from eternity" and that in the life to come

Each virtue brings in hand a golden dower
 Far richer in reversion.

Here in two flashes from the work of one man we have the semblance of an outline of the whole.

There are exceptions, like Parnell's *Night Piece on Death* (1721), which comes a little early, and Churchill's *Rosciad* (1761) and Goldsmith's *Retaliation* (1774) which come too late, but the general conception seems to hold. In the 'Thirties they were fighting for proper ideas; in the 'Forties they had grown disgusted and gone out to look for them "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife."

Here is Pope with his *Moral Essays* (1735) and his *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (1735), and his *Satires* (1738), and his *Dunciad* (1728-1743) extending over the whole period. Even in his *Essay on Man* (1733) in which he is frequently said to have become philosophical instead of satirical he represents humanity in terms like this:

Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurled,
The glory, jest, and riddle of the world.

Here was James Thomson in *The Seasons* (1726-1730) arguing his best that men should leave the viciousness of the cities and find "the mighty breath of God" and "the general smile of nature" in the "brooks and groves, in hollow-whispering gales."

Here was Swift writing the *Modest Proposal* in 1729 and his vicious deductions in *The Beasts' Confession* in 1738. Here is an anonymous poet in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1732 telling of the happy savage,

Of all human arts
Happily ignorant, nor taught by wisdom
Numberless woes, nor polished into torment.

Here is Soame Jenyns in his *Essay on Virtue* (1734) while the Whigs and Tories were squabbling, while the Jacobite Pretender was still a danger, while the memories of the War of the Spanish Succession were still fresh and the War of Jenkin's Ear was about to break out, bemoaning the "error, fraud and superstition," condemning "servile tenets," and hoping to see the end of "envy, hatred, war, and discord." Here is Henry Brooke condemning the "self-sufficient sons of reasoning pride" for failing to observe the *Universal Beauty* (1735) in the lessons of nature which is so superior to civilization. Here is Matthew Green in *The Spleen* (1737) laughing out of countenance the strict dissenter, the place hunters, and the "deep tragedies that make us laugh." And here is Charles Wesley writing fervent hymns, lame and infirm with sin and yet eager to rush forward in the chase like William Somerville's fox hunter, but hoping that he may penetrate to everlasting life, above and remote from this.

Finally, it seems, they made an end of their arguments. They seem to have given up the fight and retired with Robert Blair to *The Grave* (1743) and "a long and moonless night." The flashing wit of Congreve was giving place to the sober solemnity of George Lillo. Occasional conformity may have been expedient and the shortest way with dissenters a joke, but the poets were losing their "zeal for slander" and their "keen tongue" for their "licentious times." Perhaps they felt with William Whitehead the sentiments he poetized in his lines *On Ridicule* (1743):

That eager zeal to laugh the vice away
May hurt some virtue's intermingling ray.

At any rate, from now on they leave alone "that scented nothing of a beau" and we see

Critics grow mild, life's witty warfare cease,
And true good nature breathe the balm of peace.

Of course, personally we would prefer to "laugh away the folly of the times" with Addison and Steele than deplore in sententious long, drawn out sentences the Vanity of Human Wishes as Johnson saw it in 1749. But not the men of those days. Their good nature was not a social grace. The virtuous were too likely to be abducted like Pamela, if they were too familiar with their wicked superiors in the social world. The balm of peace that they found was the damp and musty air of an English evening. The "setting sun's effulgence," as Akenside has it in *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744), refines the passions to "a chaster, milder, more attractive mien." Joseph Wharton typifies their mood in *The Enthusiast* (1744):

But let me never fail in cloudless nights,
When silent Cynthia in her silver car
Through the blue concave slides,
To seek some level mead, and there invoke
Old Midnight's sister, Contemplation sage,
To lift my soul above this little earth,
This folly-fettered world: to purge my ears,
That I may hear the rolling planets' song,
And tuneful turning spheres."

They have ceased to satirize and ridicule the town pursuits and pleasures. They have ceased even to compare, as did Brooke, the "sacred truth" of the countryside with "the courtier's word, the lordling's honor" of the city. They have been driven quite away and take delight in other things.

Here is John Gilbert Cooper writing of *The Power of Harmony* in 1745 and finding value in "a leafless wood, a mouldering ruin, lightning-blasted fields." Here is Collins in 1746 singing soulfully of a weeping hermit, the twilight path, the darkening vale, the lone heath, the gliding ghosts, and a haunted stream. Here is Thomas Wharton in 1747 praising the *Pleasures of Melancholy*, and finding not undelightful the solemn midnight hour, even when

elaborated with mouldering ruins, wasted towers, glimmering walls, and ghostly shapes.

Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* is of course one of the finest pieces of writing in the language. Penned by a man who had travelled about Europe more than did the usual poet of the time, by one who was judged "perhaps the most learned man in Europe," it represents this decade of the 'Forties almost perfectly. Begun in 1742 and finished in 1750, though not published until the following spring, even in its composition it almost exactly spans the period. It has the sepulchral air, of course. It has its moping owl who complains to the moon. It has the typical plea for the simple life,—such as the poets were seeking, after their vain endeavors to reform the world,—a life of homely joys and useful toil. It contemns the boast of heraldry and the pomp of power, fortune and fame. It praises lonely contemplation and wayward fancies. But—enough of this. The poem is sufficiently well known. It distinguishes the type. By its very perfection, its "extreme conciseness of expression," it marks the end of the decade with a period. But more than that, it represents the 'Forties in English literary history, when people of a poetic frame of mind thought that

The hues of bliss more brightly glow
Chastised by sabler tints of woe.

Do not for a moment imagine that I am presenting an exhaustive study of twenty years of literature in these few paragraphs. The two decades which I have sliced out are here epitomized simply as examples.

What I am really trying to find out is, whether or not we could profitably apply the chronological method to the study of literature. So much has been said against it that even dates are disliked. What people seem to want now are "influences" and "movements." And these are likely to be all too exclusively purely literary in character. What really does matter more than anything else is the thought of the nation. There are political events. There are social conditions. There are philosophies. There are economic problems. There are amusements. There are religions and ideals. There are conflicting parties and sects in each of these. Yet from time to time in each of these there appears a dominating

trait, a reflection of the temper of the mind of the nation, of its desires and aversions, as the psychologists would say. Certainly concrete evidence of its behaviour. The man alone, crying aloud in the wilderness should not concern us. But a crowd of men shouting on a street corner mean something. It seems to me that it is our duty as interpreters of literature to be in addition interpreters of life. Many men may say the same thing in very nearly the same way over a long number of centuries. And it need not bother us. Still, when many men say the same thing at the same time, their voice is as positive an expression of opinion on the current conditions of life as an avalanche of ballots in a country-wide election. There will always be some who have the art, the inspiration, and the fervor to say it well enough so that it will be worthy to stand as a record of the traditional history of the race. Study biography? Yes, if it aids in the main purpose without obscuring it. Use chronology in grouping writers and writings for discussion? Yes, if the chronology shows a coincidence of ideas. Study "influences" and "movements" and such like? Yes, but only where these are at their peak and may be truly said to represent the mind of the reading public. The educated, thinking men of England who wrote verse were in the 1730's waging war, and vigorous and bitter war on the evils of their times. In the 1740's they had almost completely given up the fight and were retiring very nearly like sullen misanthropes, to let the world wag as it would in all its wickedness. Are these things true, as the poems above cited would seem to show? If so, we have learned something of the history of the English people, and it is very apparent from the narrowness of the field from which I have drawn my examples that there is much more to be learned.

In any event, whether true or not, I feel like remarking in the words of DeFoe that "if those that know these things better than I would bless the world with further instructions, I shall be glad to see them, and very far from interrupting or discouraging them."

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SURREY AND MARTIAL

Among the poems ascribed to Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557), as well as in the Park Ms. (Add. 36259), is the translation of Martial's epigram X, 47, headed (in Tottel) "The meanes to attain happy life." Professor Berdan recently has called attention to the excellence of this translation (*Early Tudor Poetry*, 523-525), comparing it with two seventeenth-century English versions of the same epigram, and with Clement Marot's French version. In another connection Professor Berdan points out (p. 257) the error of Warton and later commentators in referring to this epigram as "Martialis ad seipsum," whereas it belongs among those addressed to Julius Martialis. Warton, of course, merely repeated a very old error; in 1571, copies of this epigram in Latin, English, and Welsh, were printed by John Awdley on black-letter sheets, with the title, "Martial to himself, treating of worldly Blessedness . . . Ex M. Valer. Martialis ad seipsum libro 10."

No recent student of Surrey, however, seems to have noticed that the translation attributed to Surrey, with variations in a few phrases, was printed almost ten years earlier than *Songes and Sonettes*, by William Baldwin in his *Treatise of Morall Phylosophie* (January, 1547/8); there it appears with the heading, "The thinges that cause a quiet life, written by Marcial." Flügel reprints the two versions in *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, without perceiving their virtual identity. In fact, he takes the verses as given by Baldwin to be a translation of a different epigram, Martial's V, 20. Placing the two versions side by side will show beyond doubt that they represent one and the same translation:

BALDWIN (1547/8)

My frende the thynges that do at-
tayne
The happy lyfe, be these I fynde:
The richesse left, not gotte with
payn
The fruitfull ground, the quiet mynd.

The equall frend, no grudge, no
stryfe,
No charge of rule, nor gouernaunce:

SURREY (1557)

Martiall, the thinges that do attayn
The happy life, be these, I finde.
The richesse left, not got with pain:
The frutefull ground: the quiet
mynde:
The egall frend, no grudge, no strife:
No charge of rule, nor gouernance:
Without disease the healthfull lyfe:
The houshold of continuance:
The meane diet, no delicate fare:

Without dysease the healthy lyfe,
The houshould of continuaunce.

The meane dyet, no daintie fare,
Wisdome ioyned with simplenes:
The night discharged of all care,
Where wyne the wyt may not op-
presse.

The faythful wyfe without debate
Such slepes as may begyle the night:
Content thy self with thyne estate,
Neyther wishe death, nor feare hys
might.

Trew wisdom ioyned with simple-
nesse:

The night discharged of all care,
Where wine the wit may not op-
presse:

The faithful wife, without debate:
Suche slepes, as may begyle the
night:

Contented with thine owne estate,
Ne wish for death, ne feare his
might.

We have no ascription of this translation to Surrey in any manuscript known, or even conjectured, to be older than Tottel's miscellany. This fact leaves open the possibility that the translation was made by Baldwin. In support of this, we have the phrase on the title-page of the *Treatise of Morall Phylosophie*, "contayning the sayinges of the wyse, Gathered and Englyshed by Wlm Baldwin," and the fact that the translation in question appears with others, supposedly made by Baldwin. There is extant, however, at least one early edition of the *Treatise* in which the poem is ascribed to Surrey; and it seems likely that it was taken over by Baldwin from a manuscript, perhaps from the very manuscript used by the editor of *Songes and Sonnettes*.¹ In this case, we have here the earliest publication of any of Surrey's poems, giving us an opportunity to examine a version closer than others to his own, and to note changes made by the editor of the miscellany. Yet Surrey's claim to these verses was overlooked by Hazlitt when he pointed out (*Handbook*, 379) that the translation in Baldwin's *Treatise* represents the first appearance of any bit of Martial in English; while Warton named Surrey as "the earliest translator of any portion of Martial into English" and Baldwin as the second.²

No other of Martial's epigrams seems to have attracted so much attention as the one under discussion. Beside the translation ap-

¹ This view is well supported by W. F. Trench, "William Baldwin," *Modern Language Quarterly*, I (1899), 259 ff.

² Both writers overlooked the portion of Martial's epigram XII, 34, given in English by Thomas Elyot in Book I, chapter XIII, of *The Governour* (1531).

pearing in Baldwin's work and the *Songes and Sonettes*, and the different one given on the black-letter sheet of 1571, we find that Kendall reprinted the Baldwin-Surrey version, evidently copying from Tottel but with one change, in his *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577), and added another translation, presumably his own. A fourth English rendering appeared in *The Dove and the Serpent* (1614); while still another was found by Collier in a Dulwich manuscript and by him ascribed to Henry Wotton or Ben Jonson, preferably to Jonson. The two last-named translations may be seen in Collier's *Bibliographical Account*, I, 273-274. John Manningham copied down in his diary (ed. by Bruce, Camden Society, 1868), under date of June 9, 1602, a rather free verse-translation made by "Th. Sm."³ In view of the popularity of this epigram, the problem raised by conflicting ascriptions of its earliest (and perhaps best) translation becomes an important one; and is intimately bound up with the larger problem concerning the sources used by the collector of *Songes and Sonettes*.

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³ An unpublished translation from the sixteenth century is mentioned by the editor and collector of *The Epigrams of Martial* (Bohn's Library, 1890), who says that this epigram is included in "a very interesting MS. of the age of Elizabeth, which versifies with considerable ability a great proportion of the Epigrams."

REVIEWS

The Dependence of Part I of Cynewulf's Christ upon the Antiphonary. By EDWARD BURGERT, O.S.B. Washington, D. C.; The Catholic University of America, 1921.

The publication, in 1900, of Professor Albert S. Cook's first edition of the *Christ*,¹ threw considerable light upon the sources used by Cynewulf. Professor Cook found Part I to be a series of paraphrases of the Great Antiphons of Advent. The value of this discovery cannot be overestimated, for as Father Burgert says, it determines "the character of the poem," it defines more accurately the divisions, and leads to a deeper realization of the religious fervor out of which the poem was born.

Acknowledging the greatness of the work accomplished by Professor Cook, Father Burgert proposes to satisfy some of the questions still remaining unsolved. The first of these regards the structural plan of *Christ I*, which has been considered by most scholars "A more or less meaningless jumble of lyrical outbursts." Professor Cook remarks in this connection, the fault of Cynewulf is in harmony with the Old English poets in general, a tendency to dwell too much upon details, and neglect the architectonics, the perspective of the whole. (Pp. xc f.) A similar opinion is held by George A. Smithson, who attributes to the entire poem a "lyric unity," or a "unity of mood that is more easily felt than formulated." This unity he finds in the predominating mood of the *Christ*, which is "The spirit of Advent, the threefold coming of Christ to men, through the Virgin birth, through the faith of the believer, and through the final judgment."²

This theory Father Burgert rejects, since Cynewulf nowhere mentions the threefold coming, and St. Bernard, whose Third

¹ *The Christ of Cynewulf*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by Albert S. Cook, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1900. Second impression, 1909. The Albion Series.

² *The Old English Christian Epic. A Study in the Plot Technique of the Juliana, the Elene, the Andreas, and the Christ, in comparison with the Beowulf and the Latin Literature of the Middle Ages*, by George Arnold Smithson, University of California, 1910.

Advent Sermon³ supplies Smithson's only proof for his assumption, died A. D. 1153, at least three centuries after Cynewulf. Patristic writers before St. Bernard mention only the two comings of Christ expressed in the Advent liturgy, namely, His coming in the Incarnation, and His final coming at the Last Judgment. Moreover the characterization of Part II as "a coming," is a misnomer, the absurdity of which was indicated by Cook in his refutation of Dietrich's theory. (P. xvii.) Tho the question of the unity of the *Christ* is foreign to his study, Father Burgert suggests as a basis more plausible for the unity of the three parts than St. Bernard's "ad homines" and "in homines," the fifth stanza of the Advent hymn, *Veni, redemptor gentium*:

Egressus ejus a Patre,
Regressus ejus ad Patrem,
Excursus usque ad inferos,
Rekursus ad sedem Dei.

Placed in opposition, lines 1 and 3 show a parallelism in which the *terminus a quo* is complementary to the *terminus ad quem*;

Egressus ejus a Patre Excursus usque ad inferos,
Regressus ejus ad Patrem . . . Rekursus ad sedem Dei.

Lines 2 and 4 form a second parallel, being synonymous. Lines 1 and 3 indicate the two extreme points in Christ's human life, His Incarnation or advent among men, and His Ascension, His departure from them. *Egressus ejus a Patre* gives the clue to Cynewulf's frequent use of the theme of Christ's co-existence with the Father; *usque ad inferos* coincides with the Harrowing of Hell motive. The theme of Part III following from that of Part II,⁴ completes the unified scheme of the poem, for, as Father Burgert says, "in *Christ I*, Christ can be considered as beginning His work of Redemption; in *Christ II*, as completing the work and receiving His personal reward from the Father, and *Christ III*, as demanding the fruits of the Redemption from the whole human race."

Leaving the question of the unity of the entire poem, Father Burgert proceeds to prove that the sources of *Christ I* form the bases for its divisions, and that the poet strictly adhered to his

³ *Third Advent Sermon*, Migne P. L., 183, 45; cf. Smithson, 343; quoted also in Cook, xxvii f.

⁴ See especially lines 523-526.

Antiphonary both for material and for plan of construction. The divisions of the *Christ* manuscript found in the Exeter Book, have always with more or less distinctness been noted by scholars; Wanley and Gollancz recognized but the five manuscript divisions; Thorpe and Dietrich increased this number to six, and Grein and Wülker made five additional sections. With his discovery of the sources, Cook made only one more division, at line 18. Each of the twelve divisions begins with the word *Eala*. Each represents an individual lay; and marks a progression of thought, the sources being classified by Cook (p. 71) as the seven Greater Antiphons or O's of Advent; four Antiphons included by certain mediaeval churches among the Greater Antiphons or associated with them; and two of the Antiphons for Lauds on Trinity Sunday (here counted as one) according to the Sarum Use. To these findings another was contributed in 1914 by Professor Samuel Moore⁵ who based the last section of *Christ I* (ll. 416-439) upon the Antiphon, *O admirabile commercium*. The series of antiphonal paraphrases is interrupted at lines 164-213, by the dialogue between Mary and Joseph, called by scholars *The Passus*. Comparing these twelve divisions in the text of the *Christ* with the sections indicated in the Exeter Book, Father Burgert finds that the poet evidently followed a definite constructive plan. The one-line spaces in the manuscript determine the following grouping of the smaller divisions.

- | | | | |
|--|-----|---|-----------------------------|
| | I | { | 1 O Rex gentium |
| | | | 2 O Clavis David |
| | | | 3 O Hierusalem |
| | II | { | 1 O Virgo virginum |
| | | | 2 O Oriens |
| | | | 3 O Emmanuel |
| | | | <i>The Passus</i> |
| | III | { | 1 O Rex pacifice |
| | | | 2 O mundi Domina |
| | | | 3 O Radix |
| | IV | { | —The Doxology |
| | | | —O admirabile commercium. |

This symmetrical arrangement of the paraphrases into groups, indicates to the writer a purpose on the poet's part of following at

⁵ In *M. L. N.* XXIX, 226 f.

least the broader structural plan of the usual Church hymn in the organization of the smaller members of his poetical composition. This hymnic character of *Christ I* has impressed various commentators since Wanley, who was the first to designate it *Poema sive Hymnus de Nativitate D. N. I. C. et de B. V. Maria*. Broadly applied, the term "hymn" as defined by Clemens Blume,⁶ may be used to characterize Part I of the *Christ*, since it is "a lyrical religious poem" with groups or divisions serving as stanzas. In this case each stanza consists of three O-paraphrases. The "rhythmical offices," common in Cynewulf's time as the Antiphonary of Hartker shows, may have furnished the model for the poet's plan. This theory of "hymnic structure" excludes both *The Passus* and the closing section, lines 416-439; the latter is not Advent matter, and dramatic form of *The Passus* debars it from place among the paraphrases. If it is the work of Cynewulf, and not, as has been supposed, the interpolation of a West-Saxon scribe, the poet found his source in the liturgical service for the Vigil of the Nativity, (Matt. 1; 18-21) and may have found his formal model also in the homiletic dialogues of the Greek Fathers quoted by Cook.⁷ Whatever the source of Cynewulf's poetical expansion of this subject matter may have been, it is most likely that it likewise belonged to the celebration of the Vigil of Christmas. The three groups of "stanzas" are followed by Division XI, a paraphrase of the Doxology, thus completing "The extensive hymn of praise which Cynewulf so skilfully wrought from the Greater Antiphons of the Advent season." The last section of *Christ I*, lines (416-439) paraphrases the principal Antiphon used by the Church during the Octave of Christmas. Father Burgert is of the opinion that this Division was added to the preceding portion of the poem after the lapse of an interval of time. "Yet," he adds, "with the *O admirabile* as its basis, this final paraphrase, even if a later addition, fittingly closes the great theme carried out in Part I of Cynewulf's *Christ*, for it is with the Octave of Christmas to which the source belongs, that the Christmas Office finds its close."

As the result of his examination of the sources which form the bases for the twelve divisions of *Christ I*, Father Burgert finds the

⁶ "Hymns" in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vii, 595.

⁷ "A Dramatic Tendency in the Fathers," *Journal of Germanic Philology*, v, 62-4.

conclusions made by Cook clear in all except Divisions VII, X, and XII. Though the direct source for Division VII or *The Passus* must remain doubtful, its source material belongs to the Vigil of the Nativity, and is found in the Gospel passage of that day. (Matt. I; 18-21). As the source for Division X, Father Burgert gives the Preface sung in the midnight Mass on Christmas, wherein the thought expressed is found to be, like Cynewulf's paraphrase, a glorification of the eternal generation of the Son of God. This theory gains strength from the fact that Division X is followed immediately by the Doxology, a hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity, which in Lines 403-415, contains a faithful paraphrase of the Sanctus, or the part of the Mass following upon the close of the Preface. The material for Division X is, then, taken from the Christmas service, the chief source being the Preface of the midnight Mass. It is not, then, as Cook supposed, based upon the Antiphon, *O Radix*, which together with the *O Sapientia*, and the *O Adonai*, Father Burgert thinks was included in the material of the "Lost Portion" of the *Christ* manuscript.

In the third chapter of his dissertation, Father Burgert considers Cynewulf's sources as found in actual Church use. The reader is reminded of the fact that, in the history of liturgy, the Cynewulfian epoch presents a stage of development witnessing the addition of many accretions to existing formulas of worship, and showing numerous points of divergence between the usage of the parent Church at Rome and the dependent sees thruout the world. This fact probably accounts for Cynewulf's seemingly arbitrary arrangement of the Seven Universal Antiphons, which are almost invariably listed according to the *Liber Responsalis*. Basing his supposition on the fact of the indulgence shown the Church in England, which is noted by Amalarius of Metz in his account of Pope St. Gregory's correspondence with St. Augustine, Father Burgert is of the opinion that Cynewulf may have known a specifically English Antiphonary, containing all the Greater Antiphons (except, possibly, the *O Gabriel*) yet presenting them in an order unlike that of the *Liber Responsalis*. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that variants from the order of the Antiphons as listed by St. Gregory, are found in the Antiphonary of Hartker, and in those of Lucca and Toledo, which date from the twelfth century. As there can be found nowhere stated any inherent reason for the

order given in the *Liber Responsalis*, and since examples of variant lists appear in the Antiphonaries cited, the writer supposes that Cynewulf used an Antiphonary wherein the arrangement of the Universal O's corresponded to the order of the paraphrases in *Christ I*. Even granting that the poet followed the Roman use, the customs prevailing in his particular church or monastery might account for a slight difference in the order of the O's as chanted in the Office.

Under the caption, *The Added or Monastic O's*, the writer studies the sources of four Paraphrases in addition to those of the Universal O's. These he agrees with Cook in tracing to a monastic origin.⁸ Examination of various Antiphonaries reveals that any O's used in addition to the seven Greater Antiphons, were always listed after the latter. This does not imply that the Monastic O's were chanted in the Office after the completion of the Universal O's except, possibly, in those churches whose custom sanctioned the beginning of the chanting of the Advent O's early enough to allow each of the added O's a separate place in the Kalendar. But since common custom enjoined the beginning of the O's eight days before Christmas, the additional O's, perhaps, found place outside the strictly liturgical Office as Antiphons for special services or occasions. The Antiphonary of Hartker gives a clue to the use of the Added O's, *O Hierusalem*, *O mundi Domina*, and *O Virgo virginum*, which on page 57, the Antiphonary assigns to the service following the Magnificat with its appointed Antiphon. This service is referred to as *ad crucem* and it followed the *Benedictus* in Lauds, and the *Magnificat* in Vespers, corresponding thus to the "memorials" in the English use, which were always chanted after the regular Antiphon and prayer of the day or feast. The term *ad crucem* is derived from the fact that the memorial of the Holy Cross usually preceded all other memorials; in some mediaeval churches, moreover, it was customary to perform these memorials before an image of the Cross. The rubric, *ad crucem* was retained for the service, even when, as during Advent, a special memorial in honor of the Virgin Mary was substituted for the ordinary commemoration of the Cross. These services termed *ad crucem* commemorations, or *honorem S. Mariae*, are of interest, since the Added O's found their place in this part of the Divine Office.

⁸ P. xxxix f., note 6.

The four Added or Monastic O's used by Cynewulf, are *O Hierusalem*, *O Virgo virginum*, *O Rex pacifice*, and *O mundi Domina*. The first of these appears to Father Burgert to be of purely monastic origin; its use was, therefore a matter of individual choice, and so, remains indefinite. The *O Virgo Virginum* is assigned the eighth place in the *Liber Responsalis*. It is the earliest of the Added O's, and, in the beginning, was probably used as a regular Great O of Advent, taking the last place of these, and falling either on the Vigil of Christmas, or on the "super-vigil" (December 23). Later, as the Antiphonaries of Lucca and Toledo show, this Antiphon was used for the feast of the Annunciation (March 25), and from that feast it was naturally transferred to the feast of the *Expectatio Partus*, or *Commemoratio de la O* (December 18). Other monastic uses prevailed, showing that in those days the *O Virgo virginum* was not attached to any special feast such as the Annunciation or the Expectation, and thus allowing the poet a greater freedom in its use.

Since it was apparently restricted to purely monastic use, we may suppose that it belonged to the *ad crucem* service, following the solemn Vespers on December 24, or to some other service of the Vigil of Christmas. The last Added O employed by Cynewulf is the *O mundi Domina*, which, in Hartker's Antiphonary, is assigned to the service *ad crucem* for the Vespers of Christmas Day. The Leofric Collectar makes it the Antiphon proper of the *Magnificat* on the Vigil of the Nativity. Other uses, however diverse, concur in assigning this Antiphon a place in the immediate preparation for Christmas.

From his study of these Added or Monastic O's, used by Cynewulf, Father Burgert concludes that they were used in various ways by the different mediaeval churches, and, being chanted in various services not strictly liturgical, they were more subject to local variations in use than were the Seven Universal O's.

In *The Remaining Sources*, Father Burgert states his conclusions regarding the actual Church use of the sources for *The Passus*, for Divisions X and XI, and for the final section, Division XII. The source for the Passus is found in the Office chanted on the Vigil of Christmas (December 24) Division X, the writer believes to be the poet's own "O," paraphrasing the Preface for midnight Mass on Christmas. It therefore belongs liturgically to the Feast itself. Division XI, or the Doxology in its first portion (lines 378-402)

is based on two Antiphons to the Holy Trinity, found in the Office of the Holy Trinity, which was not in Cynewulf's time confined to the Sunday following Pentecost. In the Antiphonary of Hartker and the Collectar of Leofric, the two Antiphons used by Cynewulf are assigned to the Sundays after the feast of the Epiphany. Cynewulf, therefore found the sources for the first half of the Doxology, much nearer to the Christmas Office, than they are in the Breviary of today. The second half of the Doxology (lines 403-415), the writer finds to be a "faithful transcription of the Angelic hymn, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, which, in the Mass follows the Preface and is introduced by it." The final portion, Division XII is based on the outstanding Antiphon of the octave of Christmas, the *O admirabile commercium*.

In the concluding chapter of his thesis, Father Burgert presents a tabulated summary of Cynewulf's sources, under the headings, the Seven Universal O's; Four Added O's, and Other Sources. A fourth column assigns each source to its proper liturgical use. Grouping these sources under literal indexes, the writer shows that Cynewulf has drawn from liturgical usage that extends from the week of preparation before Christmas through the Octave of the feast. Under Group A, the three Antiphons, *O Sapientia*, *O Adonai*, and *O Radix*, are found; the author concluding that they were paraphrased in the "Lost Portion" of the Exeter Book, since no part of the poem "treats them commensurately with their importance and position in the Antiphonary."

Having proved that the poet's arrangement of his material is not arbitrary, but on the contrary is most coherent and unified in mood as well as in structure, the writer adds, "From the manner in which Cynewulf followed Church use in his arrangement of the various paraphrases, his inspiration was derived not so much from the service books themselves, as from an actual attendance at the Divine Office. In other words, the sources of *Christ I* must not be taken out of their proper environment, that is, from their liturgical setting in the actual chanting of the Divine Office; for only in that essential atmosphere do they receive that life and that spirit which warmed the emotions and stimulated the power of song in Cynewulf. Only in that life which they live in the liturgy of the Church, can their true influence upon the structural plan of *Christ I* be measured."

SISTER MARY CATHERINE.

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The Romance of Tristram and Ysolt. By THOMAS OF BRITAIN.
Translated from the Old French and Old Norse by ROGER
SHERMAN LOOMIS. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company,
1923. xvii + 294 pp.

"Eleanor brought with her to the fogs of London and the stark brutalities of Henry's court a breath from the olive gardens of Provence, a glimpse of the opaline sea, a new idealism of love." This iridescent sentence plucked at random from Mr. Loomis's introduction,—a preface that affords the clearest exposition of the Provençal ideal of courtly love I have met in any language and illumines the social atmosphere in which the Thomas poem was composed in England shortly after 1185,—gives a hint of the properly colorful style which the romance assumes in Mr. Loomis's rendering. The translator has already made his reputation in Tristan scholarship by his published treatises in his chosen field of iconography. He has followed the pictographs of the Arthurian legend from the north portal of Modena to the sword Curtana of British coronations derived from the blade which Tristan broke on Morholt's cranium. In the present volume the style is modelled upon Malory so skilfully that some antiquarian of the next millennium might well pronounce this Tristan a lost supplement to *Morte d'Arthur*. Yet Mr. Loomis's fifteenth century English will not terrify an infant; indeed the book is as refreshing to the lay reader as it is invaluable to the scholar.

Beautifully in keeping with this style are the copious reproductions from the tiles recovered from the foundations of Chertsey Abbey with which Mr. Loomis has embellished his book. There is one of the dragon that fiercely exhibits all the dashing suggestiveness of our most futuristic decorators of today. Another illustration indicates that two artists must have been at work at Chertsey, for in one tile "Duke Morgan smiteth Tristram" in a kimono, whereas in the next "Tristram slayeth Duke Morgan" in a full panoply of mediaeval mail.

Mr. Loomis has given us a more consistent and satisfactory Thomas than M. Bédier's reconstruction. Three-tenths of his text is from the extant Anglo-Norman fragments and the remaining seven-tenths, with insignificant exceptions, is a faithful translation of the conscientious rendering which Brother Robert made into Old Norse in the year 1226. Lovers of the Icelandic will regret

that Mr. Loomis has contracted the first fifteen chapters, although they must admit that he has improved the story and throughout created a nobler piece of prose than his original. Robert's everlasting *ok* connectives are absorbed into a closely knit style more worthy of court romances. When the translator turns from Old French into Old Norse he makes his transition without any stylistic hiatus. Witness p. 184: *Nequedent cest anel prenez: por m'amor, amis, le gardés; þetta skal vera bréf ok innsigli, handsöl ok huggan áminningar ástar okkar ok þessa skilnaðar*. "In the mean while take thou this ring: for my love's sake, my love, guard it; it shall be for writing and seal, surety and solace to mind us of our loves and of this parting."

A happy alliteration; here, as often, the *saga*, the more difficult medium, is more skilfully rendered and with less staccato effect than the French. Mr. Loomis handles the difficult passages about dressing the hart with the skill of an old huntsman; his lyrical soliloquies attain to real beauty. The translation is singularly free of spots to cavil at: "cursed" on page 255 is apparently a misprint for "avised." On page 46 the Norwegian *syðra Bretlandi* should be translated "Brittany," not "South Brittany." Only occasionally does the translator's pen grow heavy and lapse into a surfeit of archaisms or allow itself in successive chapters the modern "alive" and the *antient* "on live." The publisher seems to have deleted the "marginal notes" to which Mr. Loomis refers rather tantalizingly in his introduction and again in the appendix. Instead, there are only the barest of footnotes. We begin without knowing whether the text is from Robert or Thomas, and it is not until page 182 that we find the first footnote: "Here endeth Brother Robert and beginneth Master Thomas."

Mr. Loomis has dedicated his *Tristan* to the memory of his wife, Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis, whose two-volume *Tristan and Isolt* has been these ten years the final word on the sources of the romance.

H. G. LEACH.

The American Scandinavian Foundation.

Am Sagenborn der Heimat, Sagen und Märchen aus dem Kreise Leobschütz, von HUGO GNIELCZYK. Leobschütz, Adolph Rölle, 1922. 212 pp.

This little book is a collection of legends and folk-tales from the district of Leobschütz, in the southernmost part of the County of Glatz, in Prussian Silesia. A number have been collected directly among the people, others were taken from various publications inaccessible outside of Germany. A few are reproduced from the monumental work of Kühnau.¹ The large majority of the tales are local legends of the common European type: tales of cities swallowed up (pp. 7 ff.), treasure-lore (pp. 12 ff.), the wild hunt (pp. 16 ff.), mountain gnomes (pp. 26 ff.), changelings (pp. 41 ff.), the nix (pp. 46 ff.), the will o' the wisp (pp. 61 ff.), witch stories (pp. 77 ff.), tales of nightmares (pp. 90 ff.), the spectres' mass (pp. 98 ff.), the snake queen (p. 106), the "White Lady" (pp. 113 ff.), ghost stories (pp. 124 ff.), and devil stories (pp. 160 ff.). Some of the stories are certainly contaminated by learned influences and by the chapbook literature, for example two tales of Melusina (pp. 24-25) and the Sibyl (p. 108). *Die Venixweiblein als Gehülfen* (p. 36) is strongly influenced by the well-known poem of Kopisch² of which it is, in places, a mere prose résumé. Since there is a strong Slavonic substratum in the population of Silesia, we meet with typical examples of Slavonic folk-lore in this collection, too, among them must be counted a vampyre story (the vampyre bears the West-Slavonic name *Strzyga*). There are also clear traces of the Legend of the Ploughman King,³ such as the election of the ploughman in the field, a legend localized near Königsdorf (p. 72; cf. the *Königsbrunn* and the *Königshäusel* at Stadiče, in Bohemia) and the meal at the iron table (pp. 29, 36 and 37). Elsewhere in Silesia is found the tale of the devil helping the serf to carry out a seemingly impossible task assigned to him by a cruel lord (p. 164).⁴ On pp. 165-166 we find a version of the well-known legend of Richmodis von der Aducht buried for

¹ Richard Kühnau, *Schlesische Sagen*, Leipzig, 1910-1913.

² *Gedichte*, 1836, p. 98; *Die Heinzelmännchen*.

³ Felix Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 59.

⁴ Kühnau, *op. cit.*, II, 718 ff.

dead and rescued by a thief who came to despoil the corpse.⁵ Two are mutilated fairy stories: p. 85: *Blaubart der Mädchenräuber* (Grimm, *K.H.M.* 46) and p. 117: *Ihr kocht, aber essen werdet ihr's nicht* (Grimm, *K.H.M.* 91). Several genuine Märchen form the last part of the collection: *The Man who had no Soul in his Body* (p. 186), *Blue-beard* (p. 189), *Beauty and the Beast* (ibid.), *Don Juan* (p. 191), *The Earth-man* (p. 197), *The Stupid Wife* (p. 198), and also five fables, among them a Silesian version of La Fontaine's *Le Corbeau et le Renard* (p. 203).

Folklorists will welcome this unpretentious collection, whose value is enhanced by the neat appearance of the book and the clear and faultless print.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE.

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Les Femmes savantes, by Molière, edited with Introduction and Notes by C. H. C. WRIGHT, Professor of French Language and Literature at Harvard University. New York, Oxford University Press, 1920. xiii + 144 pp.

In this new edition of *Les Femmes savantes*, we find an excellent presentation of the text of the play, together with a brief introduction and notes. The text followed is the standard one of the *Grands Ecrivains français*, edited by Despois and Mesnard. To the text have been added the directions for the production of the play followed by the *Comédie française*. These directions are taken from the *Edition de la Comédie française* by Georges Baillet, who played the rôle of Clitandre for some thirty odd years. It is the presentation of these directions to the American student which constitutes the sole novelty of Professor Wright's edition.

The introduction is well written and pleasant to read, but far too short to give more than a passing glimpse of the comedy's value as a literary production or of its place in Molière's work. The notes are adequate in so far as they elucidate linguistic obscurities and their explanations of literary references are correct; it could hardly be otherwise in the case of a text subjected to so much previous commentation. We might wish a somewhat fuller citation

⁵ A. H. Krappe, *Revue Hispanique*, XLVI, 516-546, and *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, III, 86-89.

of parallel and explanatory passages from other writers in an edition which must often be used by students not in reach of a library of French literature. There is no vocabulary.

Taken altogether, Professor Wright's edition of the *Femmes savantes* is carefully prepared and offers sufficient material for a clear understanding of the play by a student whose work on Molière is supplemented by abundant outside reading or by a good course of lectures by a competent teacher. To the writer, however, it seems unfortunate that a new edition of Molière's greatest comedy of manners, and especially one by so competent an authority as Professor Wright, should not have an exhaustive introduction which would interpret to the student in the twentieth century the interesting life of the French salon in the seventeenth. I am aware, from personal experience, that the American publisher bitterly begrudges the space so required, yet if this new edition is to do more than fill the gap in the Oxford Series of French texts, only such an introduction would justify its publication.

MURRAY P. BRUSH.

Tome School.

The Colonnade, Volume XIV, 1919-1922. Published by the Andiron Club of New York City, 1922. xx, 555 pp.

The new and greatly enlarged volume of *The Colonnade*, for the years 1919-1922, reflects much credit upon its publishers, the Andiron Club, of New York. The first part, a miscellany of some 280 pages, gives evidence of the combination of scholarly soundness and literary finish aimed at in the Club programs, from which the articles have been selected. The second part, a reprint of the *Poetical Works* of John Trumbull, is a contribution to American literary scholarship for which college libraries and students of the field will be decidedly grateful.

Outstanding articles of scholarly interest in Part One are J. S. Kennard's address, "La Femme dans le Roman Italien," in the original French as delivered before the Sorbonne; two studies by J. W. Draper, "Spenserian Biography: A Note on the Vagaries of Scholarship," a sifting of the theories and discoveries relating to the poet's life and work, enlightening as to the extreme nebu-

lousness of some views often presented and accepted as established facts; and "The Summa of Romanticism," perhaps a little too conclusive title for Professor Babbitt's *Rousseau and Romanticism*,—with its apparent thesis that romanticism is the sum of the opposites of all the good things that go to make up classicism—of which the article is a lucid and sympathetic review; a translation in full of the "Twelfth Oratio" of Dio of Prusa, by Professor Waters, of New York University; and Clifford Parker's graphic account of the burial of Rostand, at Marseilles. "English Verse in South Africa" attracts by reason of its novelty, though Mr. Rich's explanation of the prevalence of the sonnet form in the poetry of South Africa as due to the similarities in climate and landscape between that country and Italy calls forth an amused protest from the editors. Doubtless the most interesting and perhaps the most important article is Elizabeth Stein's account of what purports to be a manuscript diary of David Garrick, recently brought to light by Mr. Houdini and dealing with the actor's first trip to Paris, in 1751. If its genuineness is proved, it is of value as correcting some of the present views of Garrick's attitude toward the French stage. Several pages are reproduced in *fac simile*.

The poetry scattered throughout Part One is mostly of the type aptly described as "difficult," as to composition and often as to comprehension—much of it experiments in the villanelle, rondel, and other recondite forms. An exception is Margaret Widdemer's *Shadows*, owing to a surer poetic touch and approach to the reader's experience and emotions. There are also three short stories, *The Lady of the Eucalyptus*, by Kate Bigelow Montague, and two by Horace Fish, *Spanishing Hans*, a local color story of provincial Spain, and *Electrons*, a study of the emotional effects of a comet which threatens to collide with the Earth. Both give evidence of unquestioned power in both realism and imaginative suggestiveness, but the realistic and imaginative elements are grotesquely combined, with an effect which is sometimes obscure and sometimes merely bizarre.

It is the very praiseworthy policy of the Andiron Club that a portion of each of its yearbooks should be a reprint of some important literary work now out of print and inaccessible to most scholars. For the next volume, for example, it is proposed to publish an extensive collection of eighteenth century American essays,

gathered from the newspapers and magazines of the period by Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Quimby. Other such projects, as a reprint of the *Dramatic Works* of William Dunlap, will readily suggest themselves as of great value in such a series.

The *Poetical Works* of John Trumbull (1750-1831) was chosen for the present issue because of the lapse of an exact century between the first publication and the undertaking of the reprint in 1920. Trumbull is remembered chiefly as the author of the popular Revolutionary satire *M'Fingal* and as the most truly poetical of the Hartford Wits. He deserves more to be remembered, perhaps, not for having passed the Yale entrance examinations at seven—though he considerably refrained from entering until he was thirteen—but for his determined and successful attempts to introduce into the curriculum of his *alma mater* the study of English literature along with that of the ancient classics, theology, logic, and mathematics. He served as a tutor at Yale for a few years, studied law with John Adams at Boston during the stirring days preceding the Revolution—of which *M'Fingal* was a product—and later was prominent as an attorney and judge in his native Connecticut.

M'Fingal, a Hudibrastic satire in four cantos, of which only two appeared before the end of the Revolutionary War, is given credit, along with Paine's *Common Sense* and the *Crisis*, for having done much to rouse men's spirits for that memorable conflict. The narrative, which moves slowly owing to the succession of long speeches of Whig and Tory advocates, deals with a town meeting divided between the two factions, at the abrupt conclusion of which *M'Fingal*, an irate Tory squire, is tarred and feathered and suspended from the village liberty pole, and with *M'Fingal's* later prophecy—explained as Scotch second sight—of the disastrous future for his party. The arguments are conducted with much spirit, Butler's meter and end-rhymes are handled with considerable skill, and there are plenty of clever couplets, such as

But optics sharp it needs, I ween,
To see what is not to be seen,

or the charge that *M'Fingal*

Refused to heaven to raise a prayer
Because you'd no connection there.

An interesting change of tone is observable in the last two cantos. The Revolution accomplished, Trumbull and his Federalist friends

were much concerned with the signs of growing anarchy and the gradual development of a democratic party. The Whigs who tar and feather M'Fingal become more and more an antifederalist rabble, and the speeches of both Whig and Loyalist betray an undercurrent of distrust concerning the extension of popular power. The poet, in contrast with his early colleague, Joel Barlow, was increasingly conservative and opposed to political as well as theological radicalism. One finds oneself unconsciously missing "normalcy" in the prefatory remarks touching his work; "Bolshevism" is actually there—"What he and his associates . . . accomplished . . . against the Bolshevism of his day." This growing change is all the more noticeable because Trumbull's career as a poet practically ceases at the end of the Revolution, though he continued to live for nearly half a century longer.

The lyric poems which complete the collection—odes, elegies, translations, *et cetera*,—though Miss Cogan finds a faint romanticism in the *Ode to Sleep*, are characterized mainly by the "sustained flight," or excessive long-windedness, which was so fatal to Trumbull's group. The *Progress of Dulness* in spite of its immaturity, deserves probably at least equal credit with *M'Fingal*, though it is generally underrated in comparison with the more celebrated poem. The careers of Tom Brainless, Dick Hairbrain, and Harriet Simper, characterizing three types of defective education, are adequately developed and are given some degree of unity by the marriage of Harriet, after being jilted by Dick, to Parson Tom, though the ending is abrupt and ineffective. The satirical purpose is well maintained, and there are several good passages, such as the two following, descriptive of Tom Brainless' farewell to pedagogy and his acceptance as a minister:—

The year is done; he takes his leave;
The children smile; the parents grieve;
And seek again, their school to keep,
One just as good and just as cheap.

What though his wits could ne'er dispense
One page of grammar, or of sense;
What though his learning be so slight,
He scarcely knows to spell or write;
What though his skull be cudgel-proof!
He's orthodox, and that's enough.

Though it is rather by virtue of wit than of inspiration that Trumbull achieved his degree of fame as a poet, that achievement is far from negligible, and the service rendered by the Andiron Club in making his works accessible is unquestioned. The press work of the book is excellent; and the managing editor and the Dictator of the Club, Professor A. H. Nason, of New York University, and Associate Professor J. W. Draper, of the University of Maine, respectively, are to be congratulated on producing a volume of such worth and attractiveness.

University of Maine.

H. M. ELLIS.

CORRESPONDENCE

ANOTHER (?) SHAKESPEARE ALLUSION¹

William Warner's² translation of *The Menaechmi* of Plautus (1595) contains what may be a hitherto unnoticed³ allusion either to *The Taming of a Shrew* or to Shakespeare's revision, *The Taming of the Shrew*:

"*Men. Cit.* We that have loves abroad and wives at home, are miserably hampered, yet would every man could *tame his shrew* as well as I do mine." (Italics mine.)

The original⁴ reads:

"*Men.* euax! iurgio hercle tandem uxorem abegi ab ianua
ubi sunt amatores mariti? dona quid cessant mihi
conferre omnes congratulantes quia pugnaui fortiter?"

Mr. Nixon's⁵ translation is a good example of the modern version:

"Hurrah! By Jove, at last my lecture has driven her away from the door! Where are your married gallants? Why don't they all hurry up with gifts and congratulations for my valiant fight?"

It will be seen at once that nothing in the original suggests the phrasing, "tame his shrew." Though such an expression as taming one's shrew may have been proverbial,⁶ still there is at least a

¹In working out this allusion, I have had the assistance throughout of Professor T. W. Baldwin, Department of English, Reed College.

²Warner, Wm., *The Menaechmi* (Shakespeare classics), ed. W. H. D. Rouse, 1912, p. 19.

³For previous notice, I have examined Munro, John, *Shakspere Allusion Book*; Munro, "More Shakspere Allusions," *Modern Philology*, Vol. XIII, pp. 497-545; Ward, *History of Elizabethan Drama*; and Bond's, Rolph's, the Tudor, and the Eversley editions of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

⁴Warner, Wm., *The Menaechmi*, p. 18.

⁵Nixon, Paul, *Plautus*, 1917, Vol. II, p. 377.

⁶I have found no such expression as taming one's shrew in any of several books on proverbs and sayings. The current form as given by Camden, *Remains* (1605), was: "Every man can rule a shrew save he that hath her."

possibility that this particular expression is an allusion either to the old play or to Shakespeare's revision of it.

So far as dates are concerned, the allusion might be to either play. The old play was entered on the *Stationers' Registers*, May 2, 1594.⁷ Shakespeare's revision was made not later than the summer of 1595 and almost certainly in the winter of 1594.⁸ On the other hand, it seems quite probable that Warner's translation does not date very long before its publication in 1595, though some place it earlier, believing it was the source of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. This inference they support by the supposition that the manuscript had, for some time, been passed around among Warner's friends before it fell into the hands of the printer. But Warner's statement,⁹ which is merely that he made the translation for his friends and not for publication, should not be taken too literally, because such a statement of apology for the printing of one's writings had been in vogue from the beginning of printing, finding expression in the prefaces of such men as Caxton,¹⁰ More, and Shelton. Further, Mr. P. J. Enck¹¹ has shown that Shakespeare has material from the original Latin which does not appear in Warner's translation. It is not necessary, therefore, to date Warner's translation earlier than 1595 in order to place it as a source for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*. So far as chronology is concerned then, our supposed allusion might be either to *The Taming of a Shrew* or to *The Taming of the Shrew*.

When we examine the personal relations of Warner and Shakespeare, we find some evidence to indicate that the allusion is probably to Shakespeare's version. Beginning with the summer of 1594, Warner and Shakespeare for a time both had the same patronage. All Warner's books before and after this period were dedicated either to Sir Henry Carey, the first Lord Hunsdon, or to his son Sir George Carey, the second Lord Hunsdon.¹² Shakespeare's company came into the elder Hunsdon's patronage between April 16 and June 3, 1594;¹³ and, after his death July 23, 1596, passed into the patronage of his son. Doubtless then, Warner and Shakespeare would have been brought together in this summer of 1594, if they had not previously met, just as, in an analogous situation, Christopher Marlowe and Thomas Kyd became acquainted

⁷ Greg, W. W., *Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. II, p. 164.

⁸ This is shown in a forthcoming article on *The Chronology of Shakespeare's Plays* by Professor Baldwin.

⁹ Warner, Wm., *The Menæchmi*, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Harvard Classics*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 6; More, Sir Thomas, *Utopia*, ed. by Edward Arber, 1906, p. 13; *Harvard Classics*, Vol. XIV, part 1, p. 6.

¹¹ *London Times*, Lit. Sup., March 17, 1921, E. A. Sonnenschein, "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Latin."

¹² *Dictionary of National Biography*, Warner, Wm.

¹³ Murray, J. T., *English Dramatic Companies*, Vol. I, p. 91; Greg, W. W., *Henslowe's Diary*, Vol. I, p. 17.

when Kyd was a servant in his master's household and Marlowe was writing for his master's players.¹⁴

This situation might explain Warner's special interest about 1594 in *The Menaechmi* of Plautus, which Shakespeare had adapted as his *Comedy of Errors*. In this very autumn, the Shakespearean Company had revived *The Comedy of Errors*. We know the play was performed at Gray's Inn, December 28, 1594,¹⁵ though it had not appeared in *Henslowe's Diary* while the Company was performing at The Rose (1592-94). This means that the Company had not likely given the play between March, 1592 and June 15, 1594. It would seem then that the play was revived between June 15 and December 28, 1594. In view of the probable personal relations between Warner and Shakespeare at this time, it would seem a fair hypothesis that Warner became specially interested in translating *The Menaechmi* of Plautus by seeing the revival of *The Comedy of Errors*.

This revived popularity of the play would also account for the printer's eagerness to publish Warner's translation, unpolished as it was. It might also be noticed that there had been sufficient time for Warner's making this translation between the time of the revival of *The Comedy of Errors* and the time of the printing of the translation.

Thus, if our previous hypothesis of relationship between Warner and Shakespeare is correct, it is also at least possible, even probable that, as Warner translated *The Menaechmi* under the inspiration of *The Comedy of Errors*, he made an allusion in it to Shakespeare's latest play, *The Taming of the Shrew*. If our two hypotheses are correct, William Warner was by 1595 more than ordinarily interested in William Shakespeare. Such a situation would make it probable that Warner was really referring to Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in a passage¹⁶ long ago pointed out, all these things together indicating that at least from 1594, or 1595, through 1606, William Warner was so interested in Shakespeare as to allude to and echo his work.

Our supposed allusion, if genuine, is important both because it was one of the first favorable notices of Shakespeare's plays and because it was made by so important a person as William Warner. This allusion would date a full three years before the recognition accorded Shakespeare by Francis Meres, indicating that even as early as 1594-5, Shakespeare, as a playwright, was winning the approval of men who had already established themselves in the literary world.

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¹⁴ Boas, F. S., *The Works of Thomas Kyd*. Introduction, pp. cviii-ex.

¹⁵ Munro, J. J., *The Shakspeare Allusion Book*, Vol. I, p. 7.

¹⁶ Munro, J. J., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 158.

SHELLEY AND BROWNING

The attitude of Browning toward Shelley as it is expressed in the *Essay on Shelley* and in *Memorabilia* is well known. But I have never seen it stated that Browning's theory of the function of the poet as it is worked out in *How It Strikes a Contemporary* shows Shelley's influence.

It will be recalled that the final sentence of Shelley's *Defense of Poetry* is, "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world." This is the very conception of the rôle of the poet in the community as Browning makes clear from his poem.

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LIBRARY COÖPERATION

During the meeting of the *MLA* in Philadelphia, December, 1922, an informal meeting of professors of German was held to discuss a plan for coöperation between college and university libraries in connection with the purchase of books in Germanic philology, literature, and kindred subjects. The plan suggested did not in any sense involve coöperative buying, but provided for a division of fields for specialization.

The desirability of inaugurating some agreement of this sort was based on two principles; in the first place on financial considerations, and secondly on the increase of efficiency in securing more extensive collections for the work of scholars in Germanics. The demands upon the financial resources of colleges and universities for the maintenance of the libraries are enormous and are constantly increasing. Ten of the larger university libraries on the Eastern seaboard spent last year nearly half a million dollars in the purchase price of books alone. In addition, it is estimated that it costs a dollar and a half to place a book on the shelves after it has been purchased, and that it costs a dollar to provide housing for each book;—in other words, a library to hold a million volumes represents an expenditure of about a million dollars. Library buildings rapidly become inadequate for the increasing collections.

Most librarians recognize the fact that intensity of specialization in all fields is frankly an impossibility; no library can hope to obtain every book in every field. Hence, the needs of scholars might be best served if there were a division of the fields whereby certain libraries should make themselves responsible for certain subjects. This responsibility would involve the acquisition, as far as possible, of every new work in the field, and of every older work whenever procurable; bibliographical completeness within a restricted field would be the aim. For example, if the subject were

a single author, the library would purchase every edition of the collected works, and of individual works, at least every edition which has significance, and all works concerning the author. Other libraries would be informed of this specialization, and scholars would thus be aware of the location of the special collections. A fundamental principle of such a scheme would be a system of inter-library loans whenever desired.

Naturally each library would still continue to endeavor to satisfy the reasonable wants of professor and graduate student in their research work, and would retain complete freedom of action in purchasing extensively wherever it seemed desirable. Each library would, however, agree to specialize in certain fields, and other libraries might as a consequence be relieved of the burden of specialization in these fields.

The plan was received with interest, and since the meeting it has been discussed by means of a questionnaire. Still further discussion will be required to develop the details of the scheme; and such discussion is earnestly urged. It is hoped that the coöperation of a considerable number of colleges and universities will be secured, and the plan, or some desired substitute, will be adopted as of substantial value to the study of Germanics and of real relief to library budgets.

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THE CHAUCER CONCORDANCE

The *Chaucer Concordance*, which was finished and sent to Washington on April 25, 1923, has had a long and complicated history. This outline, which will give some idea of its character as well, is sent to officials of institutions which have aided the work, and to some others who may be interested.

The enterprise was started in England by Dr. F. J. Furnivall in 1872. Slips were made and more or less edited with the plan of perhaps making a dictionary as well as a concordance. The work was taken over in 1893 by Dr. Ewald Flügel, who planned to make it at the same time a very extensive dictionary and a complete concordance. In 1904 the Carnegie Institution of Washington began its liberal assistance. At Dr. Flügel's death in 1914, his great work was more or less finished as far as the letter H.

Late in 1916, the present editor took up the work, with Dr. A. G. Kennedy as co-editor, and with restored assistance from the Carnegie Institution. Most of 1917 passed in the examination and alphabetizing of the enormous mass of Dr. Flügel's material by a competent assistant, and it turned out that in the part of the work not yet used by Dr. Flügel about one-half of one per cent. of the slips were missing. Since a concordance must be absolutely accu-

rate and complete, obviously this old material could not be used. The concordance feature is what is most needed; so it was decided to make new material for that and omit the dictionary part for the present. There is a good hope that Dr. Flügel's material will be of the highest value for a new Middle English Dictionary, which is in prospect.

No work was done during 1918, owing to the war and the hope (which was disappointed) that a better text of Chaucer's writings would be available soon. The work began in earnest in January, 1919, with the help of forty or fifty persons in various parts of the country. The 250,000 slips were mostly in by the end of the year, and by spring, 1920, had all been verified by two assistants. Then an assistant added words to those passages which would otherwise have been ambiguous, and another assistant verified this work. During the summer of 1920, four assistants alphabetized the 250,000 slips, and during that summer and fall thousands of slips by the co-editor and an assistant were made as specimens of certain words not included in the 250,000 slips. During that fall, the editors made slips for variant readings in the Globe, Skeat and Koch editions, and elsewhere. The spring and summer of 1921 were spent in various tasks of selecting, verifying, and correcting. In the spring of 1921, slips for variants were made, with the kind coöperation of Professors F. N. Robinson and R. K. Root, from their forthcoming editions. In August, 1921, the editor went to Scotland and consulted certain unpublished collations of about a thousand crucial passages in practically all extant manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*, and extracted many variants. This was an afterthought, but a useful one. The concordance, in the hope of never being superseded, has taken variants not only from all editions published and in prospect, but for three-fourths of Chaucer's poetry (the *Troilus* and the *Tales*) from practically all existing manuscripts.

In the spring of 1922, after the selection of specimens from some 30,000 slips of certain words not to be printed in full, began the immense task of finally arranging the 200,000 remaining slips, which had been arranged in 1920 in strict alphabetical order. All the slips for a word had to be put under one heading. What makes the *Chaucer Concordance* perhaps the most difficult (as well as one of the largest) ever made in any language is the great variety of spellings for the same word (*e. g.* seven spellings for the word *one*), and also the difficulty of determining what constitutes a single word (*e. g.* *himself*, *him-self*, *him self*). After some experimenting, it proved most practical to put under a heading in modern spelling all words still in use today. Between April, 1922, and March, 1923, the whole mass was thus gone through twice; and in addition some 2500 cross-references were made. After further verification of head-words and cross-references, and various other

tasks, the whole was pasted on more than 13,000 large sheets, which were finally reviewed and numbered.

The work has taken some four years, with scarcely any pause for vacations or even holidays, except for a time in the fall and winter of 1921. That it has gone so rapidly, and has avoided wasting much time through errors and wrong decisions, is due largely to the liberality of the Carnegie Institution and of Stanford University, which have allowed the editors so much financial help and free time; and also to the intelligence and conscience of nearly sixty helpers (mostly unpaid).

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CHAUCEr's WHELP AND LION

The falcon in the *Squire's Tale* tells Canacee her woful love-story

for to maken other be war by me,
As by the whelp chasted is the leoun.¹

The explanation is surely no riddle on the face of it, even if Dr. Skeat had not found in Cotgrave and George Herbert a couple of modern proverbial sayings to the same effect. But the saying is older than Chaucer. It may have been an old saw in his day, or he may have got it from Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale*, xx, 68: "Uerberatur catulus coram eo [sc. leone] creditque illius exemplo se debere timere hominem quem in canis coertione videt potentem. Hinc in prouerbio dicitur quod pulcre castigatur qui per alium se castigat." (With no proverb it is also in his *Speculum doctrinale*, xvi, 89.) Vincent professes to draw the context "Ex libro de naturis rerum," which is often quoted in this part of the work. This book is probably Thomas of Cantimpré's *De natura rerum*, in which the statement occurs.² Another possible source for Chaucer is Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, xviii, 63, which attributes the statement to Solinus (wrongly, to judge by Mommsen's edition), "qui dicit leonem timere quando videt vel audit catulum verberari." The earliest like statement to be easily found is in St. Ambrose's *De Cain et*

¹ Ll. 490-1. The conceit appears in *Othello*, II, iii, where Iago cheers Cassio, in despair over his disgrace,—“a punishment more in policy than in malice; even so as one would beat his offenceless dog to affright an imperious lion.” Some of the commentators misunderstand this, through not recognizing the allusion.

² “Pliny says that a captive lion can be tamed by seeing its cub whipped or by watching a dog obey a man.” I quote from Lynn Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), II, 383, one of the most important contributions to medieval scholarship in many a day. “Cub” is presumably a translation of “catulus.”

Abel, lib. II: "Caeditur canis, ut pavescat leo: et qui sua injuria exasperatur, coercetur aliena, alteriusque exemplo frangitur."³

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A NEW NOTE ON FIELDING'S *Historical Register*

Apparently we shall never find the missing advertisements for the first performance of Fielding's *The Historical Register*, but I recently found in the British Museum a new item referring to the forthcoming appearance of the play, a reference which should be added to those which I gave in *Modern Language Notes*, xxxiv, 221-222. It is ostensibly a news item, but as it appeared simultaneously in the *St. James's Evening-Post* and the *London Evening-Post*, March 8-10, 1737, it would appear to have been inspired. It reads as follows: "The Town are in great Expectation of being

³ Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xiv, 359. In spite of Thomas of Cantimpré the thing does not seem to occur in Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, nor in certain other writers on the lion cited by Vincent,—Aristotle (*De historia animalium*), Solinus, Isidor of Seville, several of the *Physiologi*. Vincent, who had Pliny at his fingers' ends, does not father this on him. So Thomas probably got it from elsewhere. But it is just possible that Thomas also ridiculously misunderstood an anecdote in viii, 61; at any rate, this is the nearest thing in the *Naturalis historia*. A huge dog belonging to Alexander the Great was shown various animals in vain,—too proud to fight, "contemptu immobili jacente eo." By the king's orders he was shown a lion and an elephant. "Nec distulit Alexander, leonemque fractum protinus vidit." No one who read the anecdote through could have misunderstood; still, "leonem fractum" might mean "was tamed" as well as "torn in pieces."—The proverb quoted by Vincent is also in Chaucer, quoted in a more rhetorical form from Ptolemy's *Almagest* (*Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 180-1; Flügel in *Anglia*, xviii, 134-8); Skeat also finds it paralleled elsewhere. Pandarus with his weakness for proverbs does not overlook it (*Troilus* iii, 329),

For wyse ben by foles harm chastysed.

I add another point where Vincent illustrates the *Canterbury Tales*. The word *Auctor* is found in the margin of certain mss., once in the *Clerk's Tale* (995, in mss. El, Cm, Cm Dd), and five times in the *Merchant's Tale*, 1783 (El, Hn, Cm, Cm Dd, Hl), 1869 (El, Hn, Cm Dd, Hl), 2057 (El, Hn), 2107 (El, Cm), 2125 (El, Cm). All are passages of ejaculation, comment and moralizing, and stand apart from the tales. Why the label seems to be used only in these two consecutive tales, and whether it and other *marginalia* are due to Chaucer himself is not the point now. In Vincent's *Spec. hist., nat. and doct.* among quotations from earlier writers one constantly finds bits labeled "Actor" or "Auctor." In the third chapter of the prolog of each work he says these bits include matter which he has picked up from various sources ancient and modern, and "nomine meo id est autoris intitulaui." Eustache Deschamps seems to follow the same custom in his dismal Lay on Human Fragility. A strophe less close than usual to his main source is headed "L' acteur parle" (S. A. T. F., II, 275); another "Ci s' excuse l' acteur," others "Cy parle l' acteur," etc. (285, 289, 302).

entertained, in a few Days at the Hay-Market Theatre, with a new Dramatick Piece, call'd, The Historical Register for the Year 1736, written by the Author of Pasquin; which has been approved by the best Judges, and is thought to contain the finest Humour and genteel Satire, of any Thing published a long Time." The most delightful thing about this discovery is the suggestion that the satire of *The Historical Register* was thought to be "genteel"!

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BRIEF MENTION

Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association. Vol. VIII. Collected by G. C. Moore Smith (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1922. 167 pp.). The carefully selected and neatly printed *Essays and Studies* issued by the English Association now constitute a series of eight small volumes compact of first-class matter. The diversity of subjects treated in each volume (six or seven articles making up a volume) is like that in the collection now to be noticed, of which the table of contents is as follows: "Tragedy," by John S. Smart; "On the Meanings of Certain Terms in the Anglo-Saxon Charters," by G. B. Grundy; "The Felon Sew," by G. H. Cowling; "The Mystical Element in English Poetry," by A. Hamilton Thompson; "Romanticism in the Modern World," by C. H. Herford; "Hazlitt," by W. P. Ker; "English Grammar and Grammars," by R. B. McKerrow. To name these contributors is to give assurance of a volume of positive worth.

In a series of short chapters, Mr. Smart comments on different aspects of "Tragedy." He first corrects that critical view which fails to distinguish the subtle fact that Shakespeare reflects both the medieval conception of external Fate or Destiny and the modern conception of the tragic force of personal character. The two notions may be blended, for "The direct effects of Fortune's blows can be averted by meeting them with firmness of mind." The inquiry is continued under the form whether there be "such a thing as mere fatality," or whether the tragic hero must in some degree be at fault, by act or by defect in his nature, and must therefore blame himself not fate. Aristotle and Hegel are specifically arraigned, and refuted by the evidence of the tragic story of Clarissa Harlowe. Hegel defended his theory by an appeal to the fate of Antigone (as in Sophocles); but this was set at naught by Goethe's finer analysis of Creon's motives. Goethe's reasoning was, however, not observed by subsequent German critics, who reverted to the tenet that where there is suffering there must be guilt, the tenet that misled Gervinus to commit gross misrepresentations of the tragic motives in Shakespeare. Mr. Smart cor-

rects him, and summarizes the argument: "A nature which has many noble qualities but some fatal defect is a legitimate theme of tragedy; but it is not the only theme. Guilt may enter deeply into the tragic matter; but must we believe that, in some form or other, it is necessarily and invariably present, and that without it tragedy is incomplete? So Gervinus assumes; and with clumsy ingenuity he adapts all the tragic dramas of Shakespeare to this conception" (p. 22).

Having arrived at the 'heart of his inquiry,' Mr. Smart continues the discussion on the assumption that tragedies are of different kinds and that they always involve "reaction against calamity." The argument is supported by concrete evidence and contains details of first-class literary criticism. A formula is adapted from Trollope: "Polyphemus can be tragic only if he has *mind* enough to suffer" (p. 30). Applied to *Romola* the case is clear that it is not Tito, with his selfish nature, but Baldassarre, with something of greatness in him, who suffers tragic distress. Among English novelists Thomas Hardy is declared preëminent for deeply pondering "over tragic issues." In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* the fate of Michael Henchard demonstrates the saying (which is quoted in the book) that "character is destiny." Elsewhere Hardy's characters are "the victims of blind fatality." Mr. Smart closes this thoughtful and instructive survey of a fundamental problem in a refutation of a cynical theory, emphatically approved by Emil Faguet, that the reader's and the spectator's pleasure in tragedy is *malicious*, because of "a tinge of ferocity" that survives in us all, and is cunningly exploited by the tragic writers.

Mr. Grundy has contributed the results of a documentary investigation of real importance to the lexicographer and to the student of earliest English life; and Mr. G. H. Cowling has supplied the documentary history of the transmission of the text of the *Felon Sew* [*Sow*] of *Rokeby*, and in scholarly fashion edited the mock-heroic ballad, the "jargon or song," which was transcribed by Sir Walter Scott into a note to his *Rokeby*. Incidentally he finds that a comparison of Scott's text "with the other versions disposes of the notion that he used the lost original" [manuscript of 1565], the loss of which has been attributed to him. These two articles, differing so widely in subject-matter, are equally sound in method.

Coming to Mr. Thompson's article on "The Mystical Element in English Poetry" one is reminded, in his first sentence, of a contrast to the strictly "documentary" method so well observed in the preceding articles. He has in mind *The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse* chosen by D. H. S. Nicholson and A. H. E. Lee (Clarendon Press, 1917), but this is referred to, according to a happily outworn method, merely as "a recent anthology of English mystical verse." Moreover, *The Oxford Book* was followed in 1919 by Percy H. Osmond's excellent volume entitled *The Mystical*

Poets of the English Church (London, Soc. for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York, The Macmillan Co.). To this work Mr. Thompson does not refer even in his vague manner,—a fact constituting, if one wishes to be strict, a double indictment, from the point of view of the reasonable demands of the student. But it is to be noticed also that *The Oxford Book* is not listed by Osmond; this one must suppose to be due to an oversight in the delayed handling of the Ms. of the book, which was “ready for the press when the war broke out.”

Now, what constitutes a genuine surprise in observing Mr. Thompson's neglect of Mr. Osmond's book is a deeper matter than a failure to keep posted on the lists of ‘recent publications.’ Mr. Thompson finds *The Oxford Book* giving a misleading view of the range of mysticism in English poetry by offering five-sixths of its selections from the last three generations of poets, and thus favoring the inference “that mysticism in English poetry is a comparatively modern growth.” But Mr. Osmond has an excellent chapter on the “pre-Reformation Poets.” Mr. Thompson also finds that in the ‘anthology’ the distinction is not made sufficiently clear between the professed mystic and the poet who merely projects himself by sympathy into the mystic mood: “Verse about mysticism is a very different thing from the verse of the mystic.” Traherne, for example, yields to the attraction of “mystical paradoxes; but his verse is not the natural outcome of ecstasy,” it is rather the effect of attempting “to write himself into that condition.” So too, Donne's “knockings at the gate of mysticism” are indicative of one who was restrained by the world in his path from frankly treading the mystic way. Mr. Thompson's essay abounds in fine observations of this sort. He writes excellently, in thought and expression, to enforce “the distinction which marks off genuine mysticism from a sensitiveness to mysterious influences,” and incidentally offers valuable details of literary judgment.

Mr. Herford's signature cancels all questions as to form and matter; and it always refreshes and strengthens an intellectual or aesthetic concern for important subjects. This essay is a critical examination of Professor Babbitt's *Rousseau and Romanticism* (1919), of which the dominating formula is thus defined: “Romanticism is fundamentally a pursuit of limitless innovation—art where there are ‘seven and seventy ways of being right,’ life in which wandering desire replaces fixed principle and the taboos of the moral law give place to the limitless affirmations of individual temperament. Romantic genius is aspiration for a formless infinite, Romantic nature-worship is a futile self-projection, only to be tolerated as a ‘holiday or week-end amusement’; Romantic love is lawless passion.” The formula is based on a misunderstanding of Rousseau's profound “conception that life in society is the condition” of individual freedom; the condition is not pre-social, but is won thru society, not in spite of it. The “true nature of

man" is not to be divested of inherent qualities to fit it for social life, but the "universal human understanding," as the doctrine was set forth by Kant, is "the master-clue to all experience," the philosophic basis for a true theory of life. And the Romantic passion for scenery, that is not, as Mr. Babbitt interprets it, "a mere negation, a flight from the actualities of civilization," but starting with the *Nouvelle Héloïse* it has the deep value of "bringing actuality more completely into view and into the recognized domain of art."

Romanticism has ethical aspects. According to Mr. Babbitt it is ethically centrifugal,—throwing off the restraints of fixed standards. Under this head Mr. Herford cannot refrain from accusing Mr. Babbitt of "a thoroughly perverse piece of criticism." Here is an instance of Mr. Herford's incisive refutation and constructive criticism: "That there was in Shelley's nature a vein of pure revolt, an impulse strictly centrifugal . . . is certain. . . . One is almost ashamed to have to reiterate, a century after his death, that deeper in him than the merely centrifugal revolt, and in all his greatest achievements transforming and spiritualizing it, was the passionate self-subjection to a higher law, sometimes to be called Beauty, sometimes love." And again, "the action and the imagery of the *Prometheus*" is indeed unrelated to 'normal human experience' but it is an inexcusable confusion of image and purport to suppose Shelley's thought to be "equally unrelated and remote. . . . Shelley does not 'refuse to face the facts of life'; . . . he grapples with them," and "in some vital points he saw more clearly than any of his contemporaries." Mr. Babbitt contends for a 'Thou shalt not' morality in which "an affirmation in conflict with a check is assumed to be wrong, to be merely centrifugal." This is concretely disproved in Mr. Herford's best manner by reexamining the two literary works, Browning's *The Ring and the Book* and Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, which Mr. Babbitt himself singled out "for special reprobation." The ethic of Romanticism and the ethic of Classicism are alike vindicated in the laws of man's nature; in both domains of art, the 'inner vision' must be followed; the artist must express his "own inmost experience." This admirable essay will repay studious reading more richly than has been indicated in this brief notice.

Mr. Ker gives instructive glimpses, chiefly thru quotations from the writings of Hazlitt himself, of the philosopher, portrait-painter, and critic. It is done in Mr. Ker's fine manner, always clear in thought, felicitous in phrase, and never astray in purpose. He would have special attention paid to Hazlitt's understanding of the character and genius of Coleridge.

The volume ends with an article on "English Grammar and Grammars" (pp. 148-167), by Mr. R. B. McKerrow, who introduces himself as "one who has not indeed had any opportunity of active participation in grammar-teaching for many years past, but

who, as a teacher of English in Japan in the closing years of the last century, was obliged to give a great deal of attention to the matter." He would offer suggestions as to how the present-day English may be "more correctly presented" in the schools. The method must have no contact with 'historical' grammar; that would merely confuse matters. To adapt a symbol from Mr. Babbitt, this article has a certain peripheral suggestiveness 'and a great central void.' At the center it is philosophically unsound. Mr. McKerrow may have been successful in teaching English in Japan and thru this experience has been led to deal with formal grammar in a very independent manner, and has even become somewhat orientalized, as may be inferred from his impatience "with the difference between 'go' and 'goes' in 'I go' and 'he goes.'" He would cancel this difference in form, and implies his belief that custom will not much longer tolerate this formal difference in expressing the identical meaning. That Indo-Germanic grammar has a philosophy of its own is too feebly grasped by this practical teacher. If this were not so, he would not be found revamping the out-worn indictment that Latin grammar has had a perverting influence on the subject of English grammar; nor could he possibly dismiss 'historical grammar' from the range of his serious attention with so much confidence in the conviction that he is not failing in the fundamental discipline required for an understanding of his subject.

Mr. McKerrow quibbles with the grammatical nomenclature. For example, "in what sense is one [of the participles] 'present' and the other 'past'?" In no true sense is the distinction "a matter of time," it is replied. And the designation 'present tense' contributes "another bit of confused nomenclature." And the other 'tenses' are also misleadingly designated. There is also a quarrel with the usual explanation of the use of the auxiliary verbs. The reasoning is almost entertainingly in error. Moreover, he condemns the usage of the expression (not denying the truth of it, except in a quibbling way) "an adjective used as a noun"; and to designate a verb as sometimes transitive and sometimes intransitive offends his sense of true grammar-teaching. Illogical enough is this comprehensive statement of the case: "in the division into Parts of Speech, which comes in the forefront of most grammars, we are taught to consider words not according to their form but according to their meaning and use"; but this brings us, thru the indoctrination of declensions and conjugations, to consider "words as words, and not as symbols of meanings," and confusion sets in when "the same word is used now as one part of speech, now as another."

Mr. McKerrow writes in an earnest manner but is so far astray in doctrine as to put his article into unfavorable contrast with the preceding contributions to this volume.

J. W. B.

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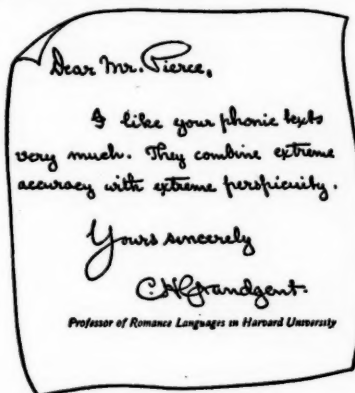
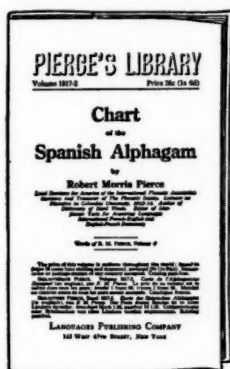
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